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THESIS

INFLUENCE: THEORY AND PRACTICE

by

William G. Hansen

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Thesis Advisor:
Thesis Co-Advisor:

John Arquilla
Anna Simons

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William G. Hansen
Major, United States Army
B.S., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1995

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June 2013**

Author: William G. Hansen

Approved by: John Arquilla, Chair, Department of Defense Analysis
Thesis Advisor

Anna Simons, Professor, Department of Defense Analysis
Thesis Co-Advisor

John Arquilla
Chair, Department of Defense Analysis

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis includes a broad survey of the major theoretical and practical foundations of psychology, propaganda, and marketing. It identifies the psycho-social principles that most influence a person’s likelihood of complying with behavioral “requests” and examines a broad selection of social influence efforts for their presence. Finally, this thesis concludes by assessing the ability of influence principles to secure enduring effects.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

RM	Relationship Management
HSM	Heuristic-Systematic Model
ELM	Elaboration Likelihood Model
RC	Reflexive Control
USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic
PSYOP	Psychological Operations
FM	Field Manual
PR	Public Relations

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

During the Korean War, Chinese captors of U.S. prisoners employed an unexpected and relatively successful compliance program.¹ The Chinese, somewhat afraid of post-conflict repercussions for coercive torture, pursued techniques of “social influence”² to secure behavioral compliance as well as lasting indoctrination. Although they failed in their primary objective to permanently alter beliefs and attitudes, their process illuminated the potential benefits to be gained by influencing individual behavior through interpreting and controlling aspects of group social dynamics.

The Chinese captors systematically re-structured and leveraged prisoners’ roles in every social context because they recognized a strong correlation between the individual need for social cues and how the individual determines the correctness of behavior and beliefs. The Chinese indoctrinators realized that by applying a certain level of stress and activating psychological principles of human behavior they could elicit a series of small, seemingly insignificant actions that became significant, intractable, and self-reinforcing in the aggregate. The Chinese repetitively used the basic psychological principles of “commitment and consistency,”³ which suggest that we automatically adjust our beliefs and attitudes to remain consistent with our actions, to induce prisoners to engage in

¹ E.H. Schein, “Reaction Patterns to Severe, Chronic Stress in American Army Prisoners of War of the Chinese,” in *Journal of Social Issues* 13 (1957): 21–30. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1957.tb02267.x/abstract>.

See also Albert D. Bidemann, “Communist Attempts to Elicit False Confessions from Air Force Prisoners of War,” in *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 33, no. 9 (1957): 616–625.

² Anthony R. Pratkanis, “Winning Hearts and Minds: A Social Influence Analysis,” in *Information Strategy and Warfare*, ed. John Arquilla and Douglas A. Borer (New York: Routledge, 2007).

He defines social influence as “any non-coercive technique, device, procedure, or manipulation that relies on the social-psychological nature of human beings as the means for creating or changing the belief or behavior of a target.” I acknowledge that in the case of the Chinese POW camp that their social influence efforts were enveloped by an always present coercive threat, both passively implied and actively applied.

³ Robert B. Cialdini, *Influence: Science and Practice, Fifth Edition* (New York: Pearson Education, 2009). His theory of influence contends that the best compliance professionals recognize and use proven techniques that fall under six governing principles of psychology that encourage certain human behavioral responses. These principles are reciprocity, consistency, social proof, liking, authority, and scarcity.

introspection and either incrementally adjust values and self-conceptions, or accept the label of “collaborator.” With either decision, the Chinese influenced prisoners to move toward increased susceptibility to subsequent acts of compliance and the potential softening of more complex attitudes and beliefs.

The Chinese succeeded in achieving short-term desired behavioral changes because they increased targets’ suggestibility by manipulating tension and deliberately activating psychological principles of behavior. This raises an interesting question about the effectiveness of these psychological principles in circumstances where the influencer has decreased levels of control over targets’ environments.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

From these observations about the apparent effectiveness of manipulating social tensions to trigger predictable behavior, I propose the following research question:

What are the psycho-social principles that most affect a person’s tendency to comply with an explicit or implicit behavior request?

C. HYPOTHESIS

From my preliminary literature review, I propose to examine the following hypothesis.

Aggregate Impact: Social influence efforts that utilize cumulative, small-scale behavioral acts of compliance may generate self-sustaining behaviors that adjust long-term compliance and beliefs.

D. AREA OF INQUIRY

While the Information Age has exponentially increased the amount and rate of information received by the individual, ironically, it is this very abundance of input that has reduced the amount of time and attention available to the individual for discrete decision-making.⁴

⁴ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*, trans. Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner (New York: Vintage Books-Random House, 1965). Also refer to theories of Cognitive Psychology, specifically the idea of the individual as an information processing system.

Ellul and Cialdini both remark on this irony of technology, although Ellul’s concept is more prescient since he developed it several decades before the Internet was a public reality.

To cope with a flood of stimuli, humans have developed cognitive processes to quickly filter decision-making requests according to probable importance. When something is determined to be routine, the person allows learned decision-making shortcuts to guide his response. This is the main argument advanced by Robert Cialdini in *Influence*, as defined by his six fundamental psychological principles of compliance.⁵ John Steinbruner's *Cybernetic Theory of Decision* illustrates something similar using the example of tennis players who, due to the pace of the game and degree of uncertainty, cannot possibly make analytically calculated decisions quickly enough. Therefore, they must use an adaptive control system, which he calls the "negative feedback loop," to rapidly "solve problems of impressive difficulty...with apparent little burden on the decision maker." In essence, cybernetic theory states that the human machine, out of survival necessity, builds upon prior behavior to form preset behavior-decisions for future similar situations.⁶ The Soviets advanced a similar theory in their use of repetition to achieve habitual compliance.

The Soviet socialization program dominated the individual's informational environment, orchestrating a "steady stream of messages meant to convince [the individual] of the legitimacy and moral rectitude of the regime's policies and to mobilize them" to act accordingly. By constant pressure to repeatedly behave in a desired manner, the Soviet assumption was that "the individual playing the role of good citizen will eventually come to think and feel like one."⁷ In other words, exacting repeated compliance would lead to an exploitable habit and possible adjustments in beliefs.

A range of psycho-social principles of human behavior underlie this "automaticity" and they can be deliberately triggered, or suppressed, to increase the likelihood of generating predictable behavioral responses in an individual.

⁵ Here again, Cialdini.

⁶ See also feedback mechanisms: Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954) and John D. Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision: New Dimensions of Political Analysis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

⁷ Soviet indoctrination techniques, repetitive behavioral compliance: Gayle Durham Hollander, *Soviet Political Indoctrination: Developments in Mass Media and Propaganda Since Stalin* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972).

There are three primary paths to influence men's attitudes and behaviors: control of critical resources (coercion), deception, and social influence.⁸ Harold Kelman, respected Harvard conflict psychologist, further divides social influence into three broad varieties: compliance, identification, and internalization. He presents compliance as a change in behavior, usually from social conformity pressure (similar to Cialdini's "Authority" principle), but which does not necessarily result in a changed personal belief. Identification is a change in behavior, or attitude, where the desire to emulate someone who is "liked" results in the willing shift of beliefs (similar to Cialdini's "Liking" principle). Internalization represents the person's willingness to accept new norms of behavior (similar to Cialdini's "Social Proof" principle), which then drives not only behavioral changes, but also belief changes to support the new norms (similar to Cialdini's "Consistency" principle).⁹

I will concentrate primarily on social influence and those psychological principles of behavior with the potential both to secure immediate behavior and to initiate self-reinforcing effects that lead to long-term adjustments in behavior and attitudes. At the same time, I will remain alert for evidence of interdependence among the three influence methods of coercion, deception, and social influence.

E. BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

I will survey a broad range of the relevant behavioral and cognitive theories concerning "social influence,"¹⁰ the major theoretical and practical foundations of

⁸ Anthony Pratkanis, "Winning Hearts and Minds: A Social Influence Analysis," in *Information Strategy and Warfare*, ed. John Arquilla and Douglas A. Borer (New York: Routledge, 2007).

He defines Social Influence as "any non-coercive technique, device, procedure, or manipulation that relies on the social-psychological nature of human beings as the means for creating or changing the belief or behavior of a target."

⁹ Harold Kelman, "Compliance, identification, and internalization: Three processes of attitude change," in *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1, (1958): 51–60. Harvard Psychologist; famed for his work in influencing Israeli-Palestinian peace resolutions.

¹⁰ Here again, Harold Kelman, *Theory of Attitude Change* and John Steinbruner, *Cybernetic Theory of Decision* concerning control through feedback. See also Kurt Lewin's Force Field Analysis concerning the relationship of tension to behavioral changes.

propaganda,¹¹ and the modern literature on compliance techniques from the fields of marketing and recruitment.¹²

In addition to Kelman's attitude change approach and Steinbruner's cybernetic approach, this thesis will draw on Kurt Lewin's Theory of Change, which is the foundation for most modern "Change" models. Lewin's model/theory focuses on the three critical stages for making changes successful and enduring. The first stage, unfreezing, refers to readying for change and involves creating the imperative to change. Stage Two, change, refers to the process of taking action and involves the judgment of the individual regarding the implication of his actions. The final stage, freeze or re-freeze, refers to the process of incorporating the change into the body of norms, thereby altering the body of norms.¹³

I will provide the required foundational understanding of prevailing cognitive triggers of behavior. It will result in a consolidated list of the pertinent psycho-social principles that non-coercively most influence a person's likelihood of complying with behavioral "requests."¹⁴

¹¹ Here again, Ellul and Pratkanis. See also the Soviet social control mechanisms; here again, Gayle Hollander, see also Janos Radvanyi, *Psychological Operations and Political Warfare in Long-term Strategic Planning* (New York: Praeger, 1990).

¹² See Cialdini, and also, Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (Brooklyn, New York: IG Publishing, 1957).

For recruitment, refer to Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, "Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds and Recruitment to Cults and Sects," in *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 6 (1980), 1376–1395. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2778383>. This thesis is interested in the non-coercive religious recruitment and solicitation techniques, where environmental control is still low.

¹³ Kurt Lewin, "Change Theories," in *Organizational behavior I: Essential Theories of Motivation and Leadership*, ed. John B. Miner (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2005).

¹⁴ Behavioral requests can be explicit or implicit, with varying degrees of recognition by the individual that the request has been executed.

F. METHODOLOGY

The bulk of the project will use a heuristic approach¹⁵ to look for the presence of these derived governing psychological principles of behavior in social influence efforts that secure short- or long-term behavioral adjustments. The second part of this thesis will distill trends and implications from Part One, to address the validity of the initial hypothesis (aggregate impact), and to suggest implications for modern influence strategies.

There remain two prominent challenges to this heuristic approach, selection of vignettes and assessing psychological principles' contributions to achieving documented behavior adjustments. I will address the first point by assessing the broadest possible range of known vignettes, across space and time. For the second point, I will contrast this with an objective analysis of reasonable linkages between the applied principles and the success or failure of the influence effort to secure behavior adjustments.

¹⁵ This project follows the methodology used by Lewis H. Gann in *Guerrillas in History* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1971). It analyzes a broad selection of influence effort vignettes, across time and space, to reveal the presence, grouping patterns, and layering sequence of the principles. In the second part, this project collates the results and analyzes trends.

II. PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

To understand a person's likelihood of complying with an explicit or implicit behavioral request requires a foundational understanding of the relevant psychological approaches. I am most interested in behaviorism and cognitivism and the explanations they offer for human learning, behavior selection, and information processing. The purpose of this modest review of psychological science and research is to uncover the behavioral and cognitive mechanisms that could increase the ability of social influence to trigger a range of human "automatic" tendencies, in the short term specifically, and the long term potentially.

A. MAJOR APPROACHES

1. Behaviorism

A person's behavior can be modified by the repeated elicitation of a behavior accompanied by the consistent application of consequences. Behaviorism suggests that reinforcing feedback causes an individual to associate a particular behavior with an increasing probability of eliciting a certain outcome; a person would then choose to repeat or avoid those behaviors in future similar circumstances to achieve a desired goal.¹⁶

John B. Watson (1913) formally established the behaviorist approach in an effort to explain psychology in completely objective and observational terms, with the ultimate goal of behavior prediction and control. He was intrigued by Pavlov's reflexive control results and subsequently focused his research in the direction of respondent conditioning.¹⁷

¹⁶ Herbert I. Petri and Mortimer Mishkin, "Behaviorism, Cognitivism and the Neuropsychology of Memory," in *American Scientist* 82, no. 1 (1994): 30.

¹⁷ John B. Watson, "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It," in *Psychological Review* 20, no. 2 (1913): 158–177.

a. Respondent Conditioning

This form of classical conditioning concerns the process of provoking an individual to associate two previously unconnected stimuli, such as the presence of a symbolic object with a strong emotion such as fear.¹⁸ Watson and Rayner's empirical findings suggest that the effectiveness of this type of conditioning does diminish over time once the reinforcing stimulus has been removed.¹⁹ At present, respondent conditioning remains a component of modern behavior-modification techniques, primarily in the treatment of phobias and addictions (habits).²⁰

Of particular interest to this thesis is whether certain emotional states, which make a person more or less conducive to influence efforts, could be triggered through respondent conditioning. Research suggests specific emotional frames of mind, such as positivity and certainty, make a person more likely to employ "automatic" (heuristic) versus systematic decision-making processes.²¹ Heuristic information processing is desirable as it is more susceptible to deliberate influence efforts, a premise that will be discussed later.

b. Operant Conditioning

Classical conditioning is insufficient to predict, control, or explain voluntary behavioral choice. B.F. Skinner (1938) proposed that voluntary behaviors, unlike Pavlov's reflexes, had to be learned from experiencing the consequences of one's actions or inactions.²² Feedback from the environment (including society) as a result of one's behavior reinforces the probability of that behavioral response being selected again.

¹⁸ J.B. Watson and R. Rayner, "Conditioned Emotional Reactions," in *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 3, no. 1 (1920): 1–14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁰ Mineka, Susan, and Katherine Oehlberg, "The Relevance of Recent Developments in Classical Conditioning to Understanding the Etiology and Maintenance of Anxiety Disorders," in *Acta Psychologica* 127, no. 3 (2008): 567–580.

²¹ Paul Slovic, Melissa L. Finucane, Ellen Peters, and Donald G. MacGregor, "The Affect Heuristic," in *European Journal of Operational Research* 177, no. 3 (2007): 1334.

²² B.F. Skinner, *The Behavior of Organisms: An Experimental Analysis* (Oxford, England: Appleton-Century, 1938).

Consequences are achieved from the application of punishment and reward, done either positively (added), negatively (removed), or through extinction (no action). He further contends that the strength and duration of operant conditioning depends on the motivational significance of the reinforcements, repetition of the reinforcement, and the temporal proximity to the last reinforcement.²³ This suggests that increasing the frequency and motivational significance of reinforcements can extend the duration of the influence effect.

Of special interest is Skinner's observation that complex behaviors can be shaped through the sequential reinforcement of smaller component behaviors.²⁴ "By reinforcing a series of successive approximations, we bring a rare response to a very high probability in a short time."²⁵ Called differential reinforcement, a complex behavior is elicited by rewarding "baby steps" that lead in the general direction of the ultimate desired response. This suggests that if a person is resistant to a compliance request for a specific "macro" behavior, the influence agent can seek an indirect approach. He can persuade and reinforce key sub-component behaviors that in aggregate produce an approximation of the originally desired "macro" behavior.

c. Social Learning Theory

Rapid information processing is critical to human survival, but trial and error learning proposed by traditional behaviorism is too slow, inefficient, and constraining to enable an individual to learn all of life's necessary behaviors. Albert Bandura (1992) thus considered as insufficient the "mechanistic conditioning explanations [of Skinner's classic behaviorism] and turned instead to the concepts of information processing."²⁶ He contends that humans must depend on "vicarious learning," learning through the observation of another's behavior and resulting

²³ B.F. Skinner, "Operant Behavior," in *American Psychologist* 18, no. 8 (1963): 506, 514.

²⁴ Gail B. Peterson, "A Day of Great Illumination: B.F. Skinner's Discovery of Shaping," in *Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior* 82, no. 3 (2004): 319.

²⁵ B.F. Skinner, *Science and Human Behavior* (New York: The Free Press, 1953), 92.

²⁶ Joan E. Grusec, "Social Learning Theory and Developmental Psychology: The Legacies of Robert Sears and Albert Bandura," in *Developmental Psychology* 28, no. 5 (1992): 776–786.

consequences, to fill in for the personal-experience gap.²⁷ As the individual imitates the previously observed behavior, he experiences reinforcing consequences both directly as a result of his own behavior and environmentally from society's reaction through reward and punishment. Following the premise of behaviorism, this reinforcement determines the individual's probability of choosing the behavior again when faced with future similarly cued circumstances.²⁸

Bandura's later research suggests that a significant portion of an individual's decision-making begins with the cognitive process of identifying models. Selecting behavioral models serves as a time and mental energy saving mechanism to compensate for an imperfect information picture. A person learns that models with certain identifiable characteristics produce certain outcomes within acceptable probabilities. "When experiential verification is difficult or unfeasible, social verification is used, with people evaluating the soundness of their views by checking them against what others believe."²⁹ Bandura in his research and experimental work observed that individuals exhibited several common patterns when making model selections. Individuals chose models that were similar looking, perceived to be of higher status, or who had demonstrated a consistent ability to obtain positive results.³⁰

His observations on modeling suggest that, after an initial vetting (social vouching, vicarious observation, or direct experience), the individual learns to accept future models' credibility based on simple specific characteristics called cues. No further confirming behavioral or consequence observation is necessary. In this way, the cognitive shortcut reduces both decision-making response time and the use of finite information processing capacity. The shortcut also prevents decision paralysis when the information

²⁷ Albert Bandura, "Vicarious Processes: A Case of No-Trial Learning," in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 2, ed. Leonard Berkowitz (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1965), 2.

²⁸ Albert Bandura, "Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication," in *Media Psychology* 3 (2001): 271.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 269.

³⁰ William G. Huitt and David M. Monetti, "Social Learning Perspective," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 2nd edition, ed. William Darity (Farmington Hills, MI: MacMillan Reference USA, 2008), 602–603.

picture is too incomplete for purely deductive reasoning. What is of particular interest to this thesis is that Bandura's observations suggest that there are some common model selection stereotypes across non-associated individuals. This raises the issue of 'universality,' including across cultures, of certain psycho-social principles governing behavioral influence.

2. Cognitivism

Although cognitivism popularly displaced behaviorism as the dominant paradigm in the 1960s, it did not have to do so by denying any behaviorist role in the process of learning, only that classic behaviorism could not explain all learning.³¹ Cognitivism considers behavior as a reflection of the way the mind processes information, with life presenting a continuous flood of stimuli and decision-making requests. Between receipt of stimuli and output of behavior, there must be a series of cognitive mechanisms for coding, storing, and recalling information, all of which contribute to selecting or forming the best behavioral response to handle the present decision demand. But, humans have a limited information processing capacity.³² To better allocate this finite attention and problem-processing resource, humans have learned to form and incorporate decision-making rules-of-thumb, called heuristics, to improve the probable efficacy and efficiency of a response to obtaining the desired goal. Early cognitivism began with the cybernetic proposition of the computer as a convenient analogy for help contemplating the information processing system of the human mind.³³ Cybernetic theory has since evolved into modern Control Theory, which explores not only the cognitive processing of information, but also the coping mechanism for an individual's limited processing capacity.

³¹ Petri et al., "Behaviorism, Cognitivism and the Neuropsychology of Memory," 30–37.

³² George A. Miller, "The Cognitive Revolution: A Historical Perspective," in *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 7, no. 3 (2003): 143.

³³ Norbert Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954), 26.

a. Control Theory

Human behavior is self-regulated, both consciously and automatically, by the use of pre-set behavioral responses that are continually formed and refined through feedback. Control Theory describes the feedback loop as an iterative decision-making mechanism that compares one's current state to a desired state, notes the discrepancy, and then shapes subsequent behavior to reduce the discrepancy.³⁴ A key advance by modern control theorists is the recognition of a parallel, dual mode information processing path. "The acquisition and processing of [feedback] information can vary from a highly controlled to a virtually automatic series of activities."³⁵

The ability to shift effort between the two processes acts to quickly sort decision-making requests according to probable importance, thus using one's limited cognitive capacity more efficiently. Klein notes several key perceptions that tend to move information processing toward the more controlled process: goal importance, situation unfamiliarity, severe information incongruence, and importance signaling from others.³⁶ Of particular interest to this thesis are the findings that when the originating feedback and discrepancy information are processed automatically, that is, by means of some form of perceptual bias, an individual's behavioral response also will tend to follow from his array of learned heuristic responses.³⁷

Forming and employing pre-scripted behavioral responses is a crucial cognitive conservation mechanism to reduce conscious thought on routine matters, thereby making it available for more important deliberative contingencies. Lord and Kernan describe a "script" as an overlearned sequence of events for responding to

³⁴ Donald G. Macrae, "Cybernetics and Social Science," in *The British Journal of Sociology* 2, no. 2 (1951): 140.

³⁵ Howard J. Klein, "An Integrated Control Theory Model of Work Motivation," in *The Academy of Management Review* 14, no. 2 (1989): 156.

³⁶ M. Susan Taylor, Cynthia D. Fisher, and Daniel R. Ilgen, "Individuals' Reactions to Performance Feedback in Organizations: A Control Theory Perspective," in *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management* 2, no. 8 (1984): 1–124. As referenced in Klein, "An Integrated Control Theory Model," 154.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

frequently encountered situations.³⁸ The literature implies that the human response to feedback discrepancy is usually processed “unconsciously” using one’s scripts. Klein further notes, “if a script exists for resolving a discrepancy, that script will be enacted.”³⁹ It is when no script is available that the individual will necessarily elevate problem solving to a more consciously controlled level.⁴⁰

The repeated use of a script strengthens the “trust” in that script as the best “good enough” solution.⁴¹ Even though a script is an automatic behavioral response to a discrepancy, feedback from its use strengthens its continued solution-validity and iteratively hones its content to better reach the sufficient goal.⁴² This echoes differential learning argued by operant conditioning; scripts are incrementally adjusted, via “baby steps,” toward improved goal attainment. Furthermore, each adjustment to a script creates a “new” distinct script, which expands an individual’s total repertoire of possible script choices.⁴³ As quoted in the preceding paragraph, if a script exists, humans will tend to default to automatic decision-making and employ the associated automatic script. This suggests the potential for durable reinforcing effects by inducing repetition, because the tendency to use scripts strengthens with the use of scripts.

Pursuing the power of repetition to form a hard-wired behavioral response, early cyberneticist John Steinbruner used the example of a tennis player and the improbability of his making all the necessary analytic calculations to play the game consciously at such incredible speeds. He argued that the player’s reactions had to

³⁸ Robert G. Lord and Mary C. Kernan, “Scripts as Determinants of Purposeful Behavior in Organizations,” in *The Academy of Management Review* 12, no. 2 (1987): 266.

³⁹ Klein, “An Integrated Control Theory Model of Work Motivation,” 157.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴¹ Herbert Simon, “Rational Decision Making in Business Organizations,” in *The American Economic Review* (1979): 493–513.

⁴² Robert P. Abelson, “Psychological Status of the Script Concept,” in *American Psychologist* 36, no. 7 (1981): 717.

⁴³ Nancy Pennington and Reid Hastie, “Explaining the Evidence: Tests of the Story Model for Juror Decision Making,” in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 62, no. 2 (1992): 189–206.

become hard-wired.⁴⁴ Modern control theorists would explain the tennis phenomenon using the hierarchical structure of goals. They would contend that any goal is composed of a hierarchy of behaviors to reach that goal. What is particularly interesting for this thesis's purpose is their notion of the limits to parallel employment of controlled and automatic information processing. According to Klein, "controlled processing, because it requires conscious attention, prevents simultaneous controlled processing at other levels."⁴⁵ In other words, the tennis player is still conducting controlled decision-making, but at a much higher level, possibly concentrating on general strategy, while allowing the lower level physical reaction-decisions to be governed more automatically by learned scripts, muscle memory, etc. This suggests that if one can deliberately elevate an individual's controlled attention to a level above the level governing the desired behavior change, the individual will be predominately relying on heuristics, which are more susceptible to social influence efforts.

Another significant finding in the control literature is that as self-focus increases, an individual becomes more aware and concerned with discrepancies between his ideal-self (goal) and the current status of self.⁴⁶ Taylor and Fiske note that this hyper-alertness increases the drive for consistency.⁴⁷ This suggests that an individual influenced to engage in deliberate, conscious information processing (introspection), would be more susceptible to the principle of cognitive dissonance. This term coined by American social

⁴⁴ John Steinbruner, *The Cybernetic Theory of Decision* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 49.

⁴⁵ Klein, "An Integrated Control Theory Model of Work Motivation," 157.

⁴⁶ Charles S. Carver and Michael F. Scheier, "Origins and Functions of Positive and Negative Affect: A Control Process View," in *Psychological Review* 97, no. 1 (1990): 19.

⁴⁷ Shelley E. Taylor and Susan T. Fiske, "Salience, Attention, and Attribution: Top of the Head Phenomena," in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 11 (1978): 249–288. As referenced in Klein, "An Integrated Control Theory Model of Work Motivation," 154.

psychologist Leon Festinger, refers to the idea that humans are internally and externally driven to reconcile their actions and their beliefs.⁴⁸

Finally, just as with Skinner's operant conditioning, the feedback literature contends that the timing of feedback is critical. "In general, the more frequent and immediate the feedback, the greater its impact."⁴⁹ Social Learning Theory supports something similar, in that short term goals seem to be more effective because of the temporal strength of short term feedback.⁵⁰ This suggests that the influence of feedback reinforcement can better affect larger more complex behaviors if one concentrates on smaller component behavior chunks.

B. AUTOMATICITY

Much of this thesis will draw conclusions based on the role of automaticity in human information processing, decision-making, and influence susceptibility. As such, it is important to review the salient points.

Developing and adopting automatic processes is essential to participating in social life. Humans lack the ability to consciously contemplate, decide, and monitor every aspect of their cognitive functioning. As such, "most of a person's everyday life is determined not by their conscious intentions and deliberate choices but by mental processes that are put into motion by features of the environment and that operate outside of conscious awareness and guidance."⁵¹

There is healthy disagreement about the exact necessary conditions that define automaticity; most agree that automaticity involves an improvement to efficiency or

⁴⁸ Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1957). See also his study on the Lake City group extraterrestrial believers, "When Prophecy Fails," in *Reactions to Disconfirmation*, ed. by Leon Festinger, Henry Riecken, and Stanley Schnachter (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), 193–215, and Leon Festinger et al., *When Prophecy Fails* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

⁴⁹ Klein, "An Integrated Control Theory Model of Work Motivation," 349–371.

⁵⁰ Albert Bandura and Dale H. Schunk, "Cultivating Competence, Self-efficacy, and Intrinsic Interest Through Proximal Self-motivation," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 41, no. 3 (1981): 587.

⁵¹ John A. Bargh and Tanya L. Chartrand, "The Unbearable Automaticity of Being," in *American Psychologist* 54, no. 7 (1999): 462.

reductions in attention, control, and awareness.⁵² This thesis relies on Bargh's well-reasoned conclusion, that autonomy is the only necessary and sufficient condition. The term autonomous describes a process that "once started (irrespective of whether it was started intentionally or unintentionally), runs to completion with no need for [further] conscious guidance or monitoring."⁵³

1. Practice

Repetition is the key learning mechanism that enables most automaticity.⁵⁴ It fuels "incremental difference-based learning" (the feedback loop), which steadily refines responses to better achieve the desired goal.⁵⁵ The individual devotes less and less attention to discerning inconsistencies in an automatic process because the learning process has already reduced the variance between each new performance and outcome goal to a point of acceptable insignificance. Simultaneously, repetition strengthens the memory bond that links the involved sub-component behaviors, increasing the potential speed of the response.⁵⁶ Logan and other memory proponent-colleagues describe automaticity as behavior triggered quickly and effortlessly thanks to well-rehearsed single-step memory retrieval.⁵⁷ This suggests that triggering the initiating sub-component behavior could lead to automatic execution of the larger more complex behavior.

2. Priming

Certain strong emotions and pre-learned associations, once triggered, unconsciously influence subsequent perception, which can influence subsequent

⁵² Agnes Moors and Jan De Houwer, "Automaticity: A Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis," in *Psychological Bulletin* 132, no. 2 (2006): 297–326.

⁵³ John A. Bargh, "The Ecology of Automaticity: Toward Establishing the Conditions Needed to Produce Automatic Processing Effects," in *The American Journal of Psychology* 105, no. 2 (1992): 186.

⁵⁴ Gordon D. Logan, "Toward an Instance Theory of Automatization," in *Psychological Review* 95 (1988): 492.

⁵⁵ Jonathan D. Cohen, David Servan-Schreiber, and James L. McClelland, "A Parallel Distributed Processing Approach to Automaticity," in *The American Journal of Psychology* 105, no. 2 (1992): 243.

⁵⁶ John R. Anderson, "Automaticity and the ACT Theory," in *The American Journal of Psychology* (1992): 170.

⁵⁷ Moors et al., "Automaticity: A Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis," 300.

decision-making.⁵⁸ Ferguson and Bargh conducted studies in which they briefly exposed participants to an object with strong negative or positive associations. They then asked participants to interpret a third person's neutral social behavior. Participant assessments were found to consistently reflect their earlier unconscious priming. Associated findings reveal that these initial automatic "stereotypes" can persist over time⁵⁹ and "predispose us to behave in consistent ways."^{60, 61}

Similarly, learned goal representations can also prime an automatic response. The literature suggests that if a person repeatedly pursues a certain goal in a particular circumstance, exposure to that circumstance out of context can be sufficient to stimulate the unconscious pursuit (behavior) of that goal.⁶² Together with the reviewed classical conditioning research, this phenomenon suggests that pre-framing a behavioral request with certain emotions, which feeds motivated biases or symbolic associations, can affect a person's tendency to comply with a subsequent behavioral request. The concept of preconscious priming, resulting from quickly judging "goodness" and "badness," appears to be a core heuristic incorporated as an initial component step, or cue, to most other heuristics.⁶³

⁵⁸ Jennifer S. Lerner, Deborah A. Small, and George Loewenstein, "Heart Strings and Purse Strings: Carryover Effects of Emotions on Economic Decisions," in *Psychological Science* 15, no. 5 (2004): 337–341.

⁵⁹ E. Tory Higgins, "Knowledge Activation: Accessibility, Applicability, and Salience," in *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles*, ed. E.T. Higgins and Arie W. Kruglanski (New York, NY: Guilford Press, 1996), 133.

⁶⁰ Bargh et al., "The Unbearable Automaticity of Being," 476.

⁶¹ For additional research on the automatic formation and implementation of stereotypes in social behavior, refer to Ap Dijksterhuis, Russell Spears, Tom Postmes, Diederik Stapel, Willem Koomen, Ad van Knippenberg, and Daan Scheepers, "Seeing One Thing and Doing Another: Contrast Effects in Automatic Behavior," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75, no. 4 (1998): 862; and S. Christian Wheeler and Richard E. Petty, "The Effects of Stereotype Activation on Behavior: A Review of Possible Mechanisms," in *Psychological Bulletin* 127, no. 6 (2001): 797.

⁶² John A. Bargh and Erin L. Williams, "The Automaticity of Social Life," in *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 15, no. 1 (2006): 3.

⁶³ Refer to discussion and citation support under the *Affect Heuristic* section.

C. HEURISTICS

At their most basic, heuristics are generalized solutions to commonly encountered problems, popularly referred to as rules of thumb. People learn and adopt these decision-making shortcuts to simplify a complex world and compensate for insufficient information.⁶⁴ Heuristics reduce decision-making time and effort because they “satisfice” rather than optimize solution selection.⁶⁵ Conversely, heuristics naturally compensate for time and uncertainty pressures.⁶⁶ “A heuristic is a strategy that [deliberately] ignores part of the information, with the goal of making decisions more quickly, frugally, and/or accurately than more complex methods.”⁶⁷

Heuristics are governed by informational cues. Specifically linked information typically signals ecological validity and triggers employment. The fewer or more prominent the confirming cues and the more practiced the sequence, the faster, less effortful, and more automatic can be the response. “Contextual cues can directly affect a recipient’s willingness to accept the conclusion of a message without altering the likelihood of yielding to supportive argumentation.”⁶⁸ This last point suggests that well-practiced cues can be externally triggered to produce a compliant heuristic behavior without having to change underlying beliefs or opinions.

Heuristics are learned. Personal experience (direct learning) and the social process (observational learning) provide an abundance of behavioral-strategy examples.⁶⁹ Gigerenzer argues that when a strategy becomes trusted, generally through repeated

⁶⁴ Benedetto De Martino, Dharshan Kumaran, Ben Seymour, and Raymond Dolan, “Frames, Biases, and Rational Decision-making in the Human Brain,” in *Science, New Series* 313, no. 5787 (2006): 684.

⁶⁵ Gerd Gigerenzer, “Why Heuristics Work,” in *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 3, no. 1 (2008): 20. The concept of “satisfice” originates with Herbert Simon.

⁶⁶ Jörg Rieskamp and Ulrich Hoffrage, “When Do People Use Simple Heuristics, and How Can We Tell?” in *Simple Heuristics That Make Us Smart: Evolution and Cognition*, ed. Gerd Gigerenzer and Peter M. Todd (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 141–167.

⁶⁷ Gerd Gigerenzer and Wolfgang Gaissmaier, “Heuristic Decision Making,” in *Annual Review of Psychology* 62 (2011): 454.

⁶⁸ Jeffrey J. Mondak, “Public Opinion and Heuristic Processing of Source Cues,” in *Political Behavior* 15, no. 2 (1993): 170.

⁶⁹ Gigerenzer, “Why Heuristics Work,” 24.

successful employment, it becomes an intuitive heuristic, an automatic pre-formulated response that requires decreasing attention to perform and monitor.⁷⁰

Certain heuristics are more used than others.⁷¹ Although the combinations of heuristics that humans develop and adopt are limitless, the literature identifies those most likely to be employed. Assembled from a broad cross-section of theoretical and research conclusions, Gigerenzer proposes an “Adaptive Toolbox” containing 10 common heuristics.

Gigerenzer’s “10 Heuristics That Are Likely in the Adaptive Toolbox:”⁷²

- 1) Recognition Heuristic
- 2) Fluency Heuristic
- 3) Take the best
- 4) Tallying
- 5) Satisficing
- 6) 1/N; Equality Heuristic
- 7) Default Heuristic
- 8) Tit-for-tat
- 9) Imitate the majority
- 10) Imitate the successful

Of these, Recognition, Fluency, Take the Best, Tallying, Satisficing, Equality, and Default concern setting contrasts and emerge from internal judgment biases. Tit-for-tat speaks to reciprocity. Imitate the Majority reflects social proof. Imitate the Successful reflects the tendency to emulate experts.⁷³

Tversky and Kahneman’s propose an alternative list. They suggest that judgment heuristics, which are employed both consciously and unconsciously under conditions of

⁷⁰ Ibid., 20–29.

⁷¹ Most of the English language research reflects conclusions based on studies involving United States citizens. Therefore, the claim of universality at this point is generally constrained to the United States. This apparent limitation is addressed more specifically in the “Tensions” Chapter.

⁷² Gigerenzer, “Why Heuristics Work,” 24. The toolbox is based on conclusions from a broad range of social psychologists: Goldstein, Schooler, Hertwig, Dawes, Simon, Todd, Miller, DeMiguel, Johnson, Axelrod, Boyd, Richerson, et al.

⁷³ Ibid., 24.

uncertainty, can be grouped under just three dominant heuristics: availability, anchoring, and representativeness.⁷⁴

1. Availability Heuristic

This heuristic reflects the tendency to judge probability based on the ease with which examples are recalled or imagined. Although this is a self-generated process, Fiedler and Schmid suggest it can be manipulated through external priming.⁷⁵ Framing a behavioral request with highly salient information should increase the ease with which it can be imagined, thereby increasing the individual's confidence in the "truth" of the persuasive message.⁷⁶ The example they give is of the insurance salesman who evokes the calamity most easily imagined by the target customer (e.g., tornados for Kansans, but hurricanes for Floridians) as a way to increase the customer's probability assessment for needing insurance.

2. Anchoring Heuristic

This heuristic reflects the tendency to give greater weight to what comes first.⁷⁷ Subsequent information on the subject would be compared to its variance from the first datum, the anchor.⁷⁸ This suggests a competitive advantage to priming the initial (first) conception of a subject, because it can set a more advantageous contrast point for subsequent evaluations. For instance, when stores visibly mark products with an inflated non-sale price they make the marked sale price look even more significant.

⁷⁴ Daniel Kahneman, "A Perspective on Judgment and Choice: Mapping Bounded Rationality," in *American Psychologist* 58, no. 9 (2003): 707.

⁷⁵ Klaus Fiedler and Jeannette Schmid, "Heuristics," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Psychology*, ed. Antony S. R. Manstead and Miles Hewstone (Blackwell Publishing, 1996), Blackwell Reference Online, accessed 26 October 2012, http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9780631202899_chunk_g978063120289910_ss1-5.

⁷⁶ Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, "Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases," in *Science, New Series* 185, no. 4157 (1974): 1127.

⁷⁷ Fiedler et al., "Heuristics."

⁷⁸ Tversky et al., "Judgment Under Uncertainty" 1128.

3. Representativeness Heuristic

This heuristic is most affected by social interaction, and reflects the human tendency to categorize what is observed in terms of its similarity to the symbolic attributes of created categories.⁷⁹ This is generally done quickly based on cues found in limited information and results in rudimentary stereotypes, which may or may not be helpful to successful decision-making.⁸⁰ For example, take a person in a uniform (cue), the uniform suggests he is an authority figure (category), therefore his instructions should be followed (decision rule for that stereotype). Alternatively, four flips of a coin should produce random results; therefore, T-T-H-T seems more likely to occur than a pattern not categorized as random, like H-H-H-H. Reinforcing feedback from social interactions refines and reinforces which symbolic cues are socially desirable and/or most productive in quick heuristic judging.⁸¹ This suggests that by learning the individual's most trusted cues, the persuader can deliberately include them, out of context, in persuasive messaging to predictively elicit similar behavioral reactions.

4. Affect (Attribution) Heuristic

Although inherently a subset of the *representativeness* heuristic, the *affect* heuristic appears to be a field-supported component of a wide range of other more complex heuristic assessments.⁸² As Kahneman puts it “there is compelling evidence for the proposition that every stimulus evokes an affective evaluation [(‘goodness’ or ‘badness’)], which is not always conscious.”⁸³ The *affect* heuristic can be thought of as a

⁷⁹ Ibid., 1124.

⁸⁰ Fiedler et al., “Heuristics.”

⁸¹ Jörg Rieskamp and Philipp E. Otto, “SSL: A Theory of How People Learn to Select Strategies,” in *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 135, no. 2 (2006): 207–236.

⁸² Daniel Kahneman, “A Perspective on Judgment and Choice,” in *American Psychologist* 58, no. 9 (2003): 710; J.A. Bargh, “The Automaticity of Everyday Life,” in *The Automaticity of Everyday Life: Advances in Social Cognition* 10, ed. R.S. Wyer (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 1997); R.B. Zajonc, “Feeling and Thinking: Preferences Need No Inferences,” in *American Psychologist* 35 (1980): 151–175; and Daniel Kahneman and Ivan Ritov, “Determinants of Stated Willingness to Pay for Public Goods,” in *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 9 (1994): 5–38.

⁸³ Daniel Kahneman, “A Perspective on Judgment and Choice: Mapping Bounded Rationality,” in *American Psychologist* 58, no. 9 (2003): 710.

shortcut within shortcuts. “Reliance on affect and emotion is a quicker, easier, and more efficient way to navigate a complex, uncertain, and sometimes dangerous world.”⁸⁴ This suggests that priming an individual with either “positive” or “negative” emotions or commonly associated “good” or “bad” symbols could influence the broad spectrum of an individual’s heuristic decision-making. Slovic et al., citing Epstein, argue that affect performs a crucial role in dual-process theories, specifically with the “automatic” processing route because of its role not just in decision-making efficiency, but also in motivating behavior. Essentially, pleasantness motivates reproduction of a behavior, while unpleasantness motivates avoidance.⁸⁵

5. Prospect Theory: An Anchoring and Affect Heuristic

Perceptual biases affect a person’s decision-making under risk. According to prospect theory individuals gauge the value of prospective decisions against deviations from a subjective reference point, an anchor, and with a bias depending on how a potential gain or loss is framed. “Our perceptual apparatus is attuned to the evaluation of changes or differences rather than to the evaluation of absolute magnitudes.”⁸⁶ Prospect theory, developed by Kahneman and Tversky, explains that an individual in a gains-frame of mind becomes more averse to risk and judges a loss as more significant than an equal gain.⁸⁷ This suggests an economy of effort opportunity; by influencing how the individual sets his anchor points for contrast, the persuader can lead him to believe the same costs and benefits are more significant without having to allocate additional physical resources.

⁸⁴ Slovic et al., “The Affect Heuristic,” 1334.

⁸⁵ Seymour Epstein, “Integration of the Cognitive and the Psychodynamic Unconscious,” in *American Psychologist* 49, no. 8 (1994): 716. As quoted from Paul Slovic, Melissa L. Finucane, Ellen Peters, and Donald G. MacGregor, “The Affect Heuristic,” in *European Journal of Operational Research* 177, no. 3 (2007): 1334.

⁸⁶ Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, “Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk,” in *Econometrica* 47, no. 2 (1979): 277.

⁸⁷ Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, “Advances in Prospect Theory: Cumulative Representation of Uncertainty,” in *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 5, (1992): 299.

D. DUAL PROCESS MODELS

Dual process theories of social cognition, such as Chaiken et al.'s Heuristic-Systematic Model (HSM) and Petty and Cacioppo's Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), remain leading schools of thought for how humans receive and process socially persuasive information.⁸⁸ Central to these theories, and broadly accepted, is the existence of two processing systems or modes: one generally characterized as more conscious, but slow and effortful, and the other as less conscious, but faster and effortless.⁸⁹

There are two main assumptions that support these dual information processing theories. The first is the principle of least effort. It assumes that since cognition is effortful and cognitive capacity is limited, humans will use the minimum amount of cognitive capacity necessary to make a sufficiently "right" decision. The second supporting assumption is that people endeavor to make "right" decisions. As a result, people use signals (cues and feedback) from the environment, including society, to bolster confidence in their decisions.⁹⁰

1. HSM: An Accommodating Model of Persuasion

A leading dual processing model is the HSM, developed by Shelly Chaiken and associates.⁹¹ This model describes two co-occurring modes for how people process persuasive messages. The first mode, *systematic*, reflects a more effortful, deliberate, and analytic process focused on determining the relevance of message content. However, because of the limits to cognitive ability and capacity, "people must be motivated to

⁸⁸ Refer to Jerry Fodor's concept of mind modularity, Walter Scheider and Richard Shiffrin's thoughts on controlled and automatic processing, Seymour Epstein and Rosemary Pacini's work on rational and experiential processing, Shelly Chaiken and Alice Eagly's model on heuristic and systematic processing, and Jonathan Evans' summary on a range of current dual processes.

⁸⁹ Jonathan St B.T. Evans, "Dual-processing Accounts of Reasoning, Judgment, and Social Cognition," in *Annual Review of Psychology* 59 (2008): 256.

⁹⁰ Klaus Jonas and Michael Diehl, "Effects of Attitudinal Ambivalence on Information Processing and Attitude-Intention Consistency," in *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 33, no. 2 (1997): 193.

⁹¹ Alexander Todorov, Shelly Chaiken, and Marlone D. Henderson, "The Heuristic-Systematic Model of Social Information Processing," in *The Persuasion Handbook: Developments in Theory and Practice*, ed. James P. Dillard and Michael Pfau (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2002), 197.

process systematically.”⁹² The second mode, *heuristic*, reflects a process that makes relatively “minimal cognitive demands on the perceiver.”⁹³ It uses cues from the available information to authorize and initiate learned simple knowledge structures, heuristics, to make quick judgments and trigger preformatted decisions.⁹⁴ The literature also indicates that external factors that reduce cognitive ability, like pressure and distraction, tend to stimulate greater heuristic processing.⁹⁵ Of particular value to this thesis is the literature’s wide supposition that heuristic processing is the dominant and default information processing mode for the majority of day to day decision-making.⁹⁶

a. Co-occurrence

Although heuristic processing is principally practiced in situations of decreased information, motivation, and awareness, heuristics are also employed consciously for more systematic dominant decision-making. Chaiken et al. argue that the two modes interact with one another in three ways to produce net effects.⁹⁷ First, persuasive messages are always “broadcasting” their inherent heuristic cues, but when the motivation and ability to process more *systematically* are high, the mind attenuates the importance of heuristic cues.⁹⁸ Second, heuristic processing can bias systematic processing. The literature suggests that heuristics, which can be processed quickly and automatically, often pre-bias attitudes that can govern subsequent evaluation.⁹⁹ Third,

⁹² Shelly Chaiken, Akiva Liberman, and Alice H. Eagly, “CHP 7: Heuristic and Systematic Information Processing Within and Beyond the Persuasion Context,” in *Unintended Thought*, ed. James S. Uleman and John A. Bargh (New York: The Guilford Press, 1989), 212.

⁹³ Evans et al., “Dual-processing Accounts of Reasoning, Judgment, and Social Cognition,” 268.

⁹⁴ Todorov et al., “The Heuristic-Systematic Model of Social Information Processing,” 197.

⁹⁵ Danny L. Moore, Douglas Hausknecht, and Kanchana Thamodaran, “Time Compression, Response Opportunity, and Persuasion,” in *Journal of Consumer Research* (1986): 85. See also Srinivasan Ratneshwar and Shelly Chaiken, “Comprehension’s Role in Persuasion: The Case of Its Moderating Effect on the Persuasive Impact of Source Cues,” in *Journal of Consumer Research* (1991): 52–62.

⁹⁶ Evans et al., “Dual-processing Accounts of Reasoning, Judgment, and Social Cognition,” 263.

⁹⁷ Chaiken et al., “Heuristic and Systematic Information Processing Within and Beyond the Persuasion Context,” 213.

⁹⁸ Todorov et al., “The Heuristic-Systematic Model of Social Information Processing,” 200.

⁹⁹ Richard E. Petty, “Flexible Correction Process in Social Judgment: Implications for Persuasion,” in *Social Cognition* 16, no. 1 (1988): 94.

heuristic processing can be used to confirm systematic conclusions, increasing the confidence in the “correctness” of those conclusions. The characteristics of co-occurrence suggest that influence efforts that create or coopt well used heuristics can continue to affect more systematic and conscious decision-making over an extended time period, for as long as the heuristic is used in decision-making.

b. Motivation

Increased motivation generally leads to increased systematic processing. The guiding determinant for switching from the default information processing mode (heuristic) to more systematic processing is the “sufficiency threshold.”¹⁰⁰ As described by Chaiken et al., this is the “point at which perceivers feel confident that [their] judgment will satisfy their currently operative motives.”¹⁰¹ This suggests that heuristic confidence results from the frequency of use and the weight given to feedback from direct experience, observational learning, and social instruction.

Systematic processing is more likely to dominate when motivations induce a “certainty” requirement that exceeds the confidence level associated with applicable heuristics.¹⁰² Commonly conceived motivators such as personal relevance, task importance, or peer pressure are subsumed by the threshold concept as representing just a few of the many possible motivations that set the threshold.¹⁰³ According to the literature, the threshold concept is not meant to imply another intermediary level of deliberate conscious evaluation of costs and benefits, but rather represents a component of intuition. Motivation alone is not sufficient to make systematic processing dominate

¹⁰⁰ Chaiken et al., “Heuristic and Systematic Information Processing Within and Beyond the Persuasion Context,” 223.

¹⁰¹ Serena Chen, Kimberly Duckworth, and Shelly Chaiken, “Motivated Heuristic and Systematic Processing,” in *Psychological Inquiry* 10, no. 1 (1999): 45.

¹⁰² Ibid., 44.

¹⁰³ Chaiken et al., “Heuristic and Systematic Information Processing Within and Beyond the Persuasion Context,” 222.

decision-making. Under conditions of high motivation, but reduced cognitive ability or capacity, Chaiken et al. argue that people increase their reliance on heuristics.¹⁰⁴

c. Cues

Manipulating a cue's prominence affects confidence in the heuristic, which can affect the probability and frequency of its use. Chaiken et al. suggest three necessary cognitive conditions that govern heuristic use: availability, accessibility, and applicability. To be available, the heuristic has to be learned and stored in memory. To be applied, the heuristic must pass through an appropriateness filter. Meanwhile, the more salient a heuristic cue is, the more accessible the heuristic will be in memory. The more accessible the heuristic, the more it will be trusted (refer back to *availability* heuristic), while the more confidence an individual has in the heuristic, the more often it will be employed.¹⁰⁵ This suggests a powerful reinforcing loop, where stimulating repetitive employment of a heuristic should increase the probability of its selection for future similarly cued information.¹⁰⁶

Heuristic processing is more influenced by message source cues, while systematic processing relies more on message content cues. The dual process literature reveals some consistently recognized and employed heuristics. For instance, the HSM-associated research finds that individuals tend to accept messages by those they perceive to be experts; assign more credibility to those they like (attractive); follow the majority's consensus; accept that a person's actions reflect his underlying beliefs (consistency); and correlate the number of persuasive arguments with the argument's credibility.¹⁰⁷ The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) research yields similar conclusions, but highlights the tendency to reject arguments that are too incompatible with existing beliefs. It also expands on the notion of expertise to include respect for other sources of power-status

¹⁰⁴ Todorov et al., "The Heuristic-Systematic Model of Social Information Processing," 201.

¹⁰⁵ Chaiken et al., "Heuristic and Systematic Information Processing Within and Beyond the Persuasion Context," 217.

¹⁰⁶ Todorov et al., "The Heuristic-Systematic Model of Social Information Processing," 198.

¹⁰⁷ Chaiken et al., "Heuristic and Systematic Information Processing Within and Beyond the Persuasion Context," 213–216. See also Chaiken et al. (1980), (1999), and (2002).

such as authority figures.¹⁰⁸ Finally, both of these prominent models, along with Prospect theory identify mood (mindset) as an important bias on decision-making.¹⁰⁹

Although there is a large body of literature supporting dual processes, there are significant variations in the character and functions for each of the two systems. Petty and Cacioppo's ELM describes the difference between the two systems in terms of the depth of processing.¹¹⁰ Kahneman and Frederick contrast the two systems in terms of heuristic judgments and analytic reasoning.¹¹¹ Schneider and Shiffrin's model stresses the difference between automatic and controlled processing.¹¹² The most credible criticism addresses early versions of the models' conception of strict system dichotomy, in other words, that a persuasive message is either processed completely systematically or completely automatically.¹¹³ Most models have since been updated to reflect a continuum of graduated simultaneous involvement. There are also several attempts to reconcile the two theories via a unitary model; authors favoring this approach generally propose a single learning mechanism that achieves a certain level of skill development.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Richard Petty and John T. Cacioppo, "The Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion," in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 19 (1986): 123–162. See also Richard E. Petty, John T. Cacioppo, and Rachel Goldman, "Personal Involvement as a Determinant of Argument-Based Persuasion," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 41, no. 5 (1981): 847–855.

¹⁰⁹ Richard E. Petty, Duane T. Wegener, and Paul H. White, "Flexible Correction Processes in Social Judgment: Implications for Persuasion," in *Social Cognition* 16, no. 1 (1998): 94.

¹¹⁰ John T. Cacioppo, Richard E. Petty, Chuan Feng Kao, and Regina Rodriguez, "Central and Peripheral Routes to Persuasion: An Individual Difference Perspective," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51, no. 5 (1986): 1032–1043.

¹¹¹ Daniel Kahneman and Shane Frederick, "Representativeness Revisited: Attribute Substitution in Intuitive Judgment," in *Heuristics of Intuitive Judgment: Extensions and Applications*, ed. T. Gilovich, D. Griffin, and D. Kahneman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 49–81.

¹¹² Richard M. Shiffrin and Walter Schneider, "Controlled and Automatic Human Information Processing: II. Perceptual Learning, Automatic Attending and a General Theory," in *Psychological Review* 84, no. 2 (1977): 127–190.

¹¹³ Jonathan St. B. T. Evans, "Dual-Processing Accounts of Reasoning, Judgment, and Social Cognition," in *Annual Review of Psychology* 59 (2008): 255–278.

¹¹⁴ Arie W. Kruglanski and Erik P. Thompson, "Persuasion by a Single Route: A View from the Unimodel," in *Psychological Inquiry* 10, no. 2 (1999): 83–109. Gideon Keren and Yaacov Schul, "Two Is Not Always Better Than One: A Critical Evaluation of Two-System Theories," in *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 4, no. 6 (2009): 533–550. Antony S.R. Manstead and Joop Van Der Pligt, "One Process or Two?: Quantitative and Qualitative Distinctions in Models of Persuasion," in *Psychological Inquiry* 10, no. 2 (1999): 144–149.

Regardless, the body of criticism does little to adjust the fundamental understanding of heuristics, how they are learned, why they are formed, and how they are triggered.

E. BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDE CHANGE DURABILITY

1. Change Theory

Group membership is one of the strongest determinants of an individual's behavior. Kurt Lewin, generally recognized as the founder of social psychology, writes, "it is not the similarity or dissimilarity of individuals that constitutes a group, but [their] interdependence of fate."¹¹⁵ An individual's identity requires constant confirmation from the social relationships that he values. Edgar Schein, an ardent supporter of Lewin, argues that preservation and restoration of one's self image is the most powerful driving force for change.¹¹⁶ To successfully and lastingly change attitudes, Lewin proposes that an individual must go through three stages: unfreeze (recognize the need for change), change (accept the argument for a particular solution), and re-freeze (adopt the change as a new norm). As such, the key to overcoming an individual's resistance to persuasion (change) is to understand the sources of the strongest group dynamics (norms, roles, interactions, and socialization) that both resist and encourage his change.¹¹⁷

a. Inherent Resistance

There are several powerful judgment biases that already work against change and taking risk. Humans exhibit a typical bias that favors their status quo.¹¹⁸ But applying too much stress to motivate change can also be counterproductive to influence

¹¹⁵ Kurt Lewin, "When Facing Danger," in *Resolving Social Conflict*, ed. G.W. Lewin (New York: Harper and Row, 1945), 165.

¹¹⁶ Edgar H. Schein, Inge Schneider, and Curtis H. Barker, *Coercive Persuasion: A Socio-psychological Analysis of the 'Brainwashing' of American Civilian Prisoners by the Chinese Communists* (New York: The Norton Library, 1961), 222–226.

¹¹⁷ Bernard Burnes, "Kurt Lewin and the Planned Approach to Change: A Re-appraisal," in *Journal of Management Studies* 41, no. 6 (2004): 983.

¹¹⁸ William Samuelson and Richard Zeckhauser, "Status Quo Bias in Decision Making," in *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 1 (1988): 7–59; and Daniel Kahneman, Jack L. Knetsch, and Richard H. Thaler, "Anomalies: The Endowment Effect, Loss Aversion, and Status Quo Bias," in *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5, no. 1 (1991): 193–206.

efforts. At a certain stress level, an individual will enact coping mechanisms, discounting further persuasive information that contradicts his existing beliefs.¹¹⁹ Schein, expanding on Lewin's concept, remarks that unfreezing has to balance disconfirming the status quo with generating motivational stress (guilt or anxiety) and creating a sufficient promise for a return to a state of psychological safety.¹²⁰ The targets "have to feel safe from loss and humiliation before they can accept the new information and reject old behaviors."¹²¹ This reflects the literature's conclusion that influence efforts are more likely to succeed when the motivational delta to change is generated by reducing the existing forces restraining change, rather than hyper-elevating the forces driving change.¹²²

b. Social Role Models

According to Lewin, the unfrozen individual depends on social role models to determine the appropriateness of behavioral and belief changes. When he does not find them or when those available are unsatisfactory, he scans the environment to arrive at his own conclusions.¹²³ Schein and Lewin both argue that conclusions based on "scanning" will be more persuasive and resistant to subsequent competition. "An individual will believe facts he himself has discovered in the same way that he believes in himself or in his group."¹²⁴ This suggests that creating a persuasive environment that "forces" the individual to form his own conclusions (conclusions ultimately desired by the persuader), will secure potentially longer lasting influence effects. This reflects the

¹¹⁹ Charles S. Carver, Jagdish Kumari Weintraub, and Michael F. Scheier, "Assessing Coping Strategies: A Theoretically Based Approach," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56, no. 2 (1989): 267.

¹²⁰ Burnes, "Kurt Lewin and the Planned Approach to Change," 985.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 985.

¹²² Edgar H. Schein, "Kurt Lewin's Change Theory in the Field and in the Classroom: Notes Toward a Model of Managed Learning," in *Systemic Practice and Action Research* 9, no. 1 (1996): 27.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹²⁴ Kurt Lewin, Paul Grabbe, "Conduct, Knowledge, and Acceptance of New Values," in *Journal of Social Issues* 1, no. 3 (1945): 63.

prevalent notion in the literature that active participation and collaboration by the target leads the individual to identify and internalize the behavior and its belief implications.¹²⁵

c. Long-term Impact

Following Lewin's theory, the endurance of a change can be thought of as the fit between an individual's new learned behavior and his ascribed social norms and values. "The main point about refreezing is that new behavior must be, to some degree, congruent with the rest of the behavior, personality and environment of the learner or it will simply lead to a new round of disconfirmation."¹²⁶ This explains Lewin's recommendation for iterative adjustments, with reinforcement, as a preferred means to approach more significant and enduring attitude and behavior changes.¹²⁷

2. Change Processes

The type of influence process used to elicit behavioral change will affect the depth and durability of that change. Deutsch and Gerard hypothesize that social influence can be placed in two categories based on motivation. "From birth on, we learn that the perceptions and judgments of others are frequently reliable sources of evidence about reality."¹²⁸ This helps explain and reinforce the persuasive power of "expert" figures and of the perceived majority. Normative influence motivates behaviors that, in turn, achieve stronger social acceptance. "We engage in behaviors of which others approve, [so that] others will approve of us, too...We also move closer to achieving these affiliation-oriented goals when we abide by norms of social exchange with others, such as the norm of reciprocity."¹²⁹ The need to be liked increases the value of behaviors that strengthen social inclusion such as reciprocation, imitation, and consistency.

¹²⁵ Burnes, "Kurt Lewin and the Planned Approach to Change," 984.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 986.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 986.

¹²⁸ Morton Deutsch and Harold B. Gerard, "A Study of Normative and Informational Social Influences Upon Individual Judgment," in *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 51, no. 3 (1955): 635.

¹²⁹ Robert B. Cialdini and Noah J. Goldstein, "Social Influence: Compliance and Conformity," in *Annual Review of Psychology* 55 (2004): 598.

Kelman's model of attitude change provides a useful structure to understand the potential for predicting persuasive effects based on the power of the influencing agent. Kelman theorizes that social influence "inducts" change through three processes: compliance, identification, and internalization.¹³⁰ Each process reflects a different motivation behind accepting the influence effort and produces different degrees of behavior and attitude change. "Only if we know something about the nature and depth of changes can we make meaningful predictions about the way in which attitude changes will be reflected in subsequent actions and reactions to events."¹³¹ Kelman's discussion on antecedent conditions highlights the significance of the influencer's source of power, specifically noting attractiveness and credible reputation as predictors of influence effect.¹³² Source attractiveness and similarity to self should motivate the identification process, while credibility should induce degrees of internalization.

a. Compliance

If an individual executes a behavior solely because of an extrinsic reward or punishment, the individual will likely cease the behavior once the stimulus is removed. The individual "accepts influence because he hopes to achieve a favorable action from another person or group," not because he has changed his underlying beliefs.¹³³ Since the influence request is externally attributable, the individual can readily activate coping mechanisms to disassociate his behavior from the implied contradictions with his social identity.¹³⁴ One such mechanism is the psychological principle of reactance, which is the tendency of individuals to automatically strengthen a contrary opinion when faced with

¹³⁰ See also the tri-process concept (Compliance, Conformity, and Conversion) proposed by Kim Cragin and Scott Gerwehr, *Dissuading Terror: Strategic Influence and the Struggle Against Terrorism* 186. (Washington, D.C.: RAND, 2005), 15.

¹³¹ Herbert C Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization: Three Processes of Attitude Change," in *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 1 (1958): 51.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 54.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹³⁴ Herbert C. Kelman, "Further Thoughts on the Processes of Compliance, Identification, and Internalization," in *Perspectives on Social Power*, ed. James T. Tedeschi (Chicago: Aldine, 1974), 142.

overt pressure to do something that they believe reduces their behavioral freedom.¹³⁵ This suggests that the individual has an incentive to reject the compliance behavior as soon as the situation permits. However, Kelman's concept of compliance does not seem to consider the potential of repetition to induce longer compliance.

Repetition of a behavior should decrease the ability of the individual to attribute 'away' his behavior to purely exogenous sources, leaving him to internalize some aspects. The literature on cognitive dissonance suggests that "if a person is induced to do or say something which is contrary to his private opinion, there will be a tendency for him to change his opinion so as to bring it into correspondence with what he has done or said."¹³⁶ Behavior repetition increases the frequency of behavior-identity discrepancy signals, which should increase the individual's intrinsic motivation to reconcile.

b. Identification

The individual performs a behavior because it enables a desired social relationship or role-identity. The influence here is self-accepted. The individual "wants to establish or maintain a satisfying self-defining relationship to another person or a group."¹³⁷ The desire to belong creates the motivation to imitate the behavior of that liked person or group, anticipating their implicit approval. This change effect is more enduring than compliance; it should continue as long as the individual values the "self-definition that is anchored in this relationship."¹³⁸ Importantly, underlying beliefs do not have to change. Kelman relates that the individual believes in performing the behavior, but he does not necessarily analyze and adopt the implied underlying beliefs.¹³⁹ This

¹³⁵ Richard L. Miller, "Mere Exposure, Psychological Reactance and Attitude Change," in *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (1976): 230.

¹³⁶ Leon Festinger and James M. Carlsmith, "Cognitive Consequences of Forced Compliance," in *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 58 (1959): 203. Quote is attributed to Christopher D. Green, as summary comment on Festinger and Carlsmith's article, accessed 13 December 2012, accessed at <http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Festinger/?iframe=true&width=100%&height=100%#f1>

¹³⁷ Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization," 53.

¹³⁸ Kelman, "Further Thoughts on the Processes of Compliance, Identification, and Internalization," 142.

¹³⁹ Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization," 53.

suggests that persuaders could secure durable effects by leveraging (promoting or placing at risk) the individual or group's most valued identity traits and relationships.

c. Internalization

The individual accepts influence and performs the behavior because he believes in the intrinsic value of doing so. He more easily “adopts the induced behavior because it is congruent with his value system.”¹⁴⁰ Although this change effect can be the most durable of the three, it is also the hardest and costliest to obtain.¹⁴¹ Schein notes that the individual internalizes the influence information because he can accept the source as extremely credible, not requiring additional systematic evaluation.¹⁴² This is suggestive of the social proof principle, where by the individual accepts the behavior and beliefs of a key group as the “right” answer and so internalizes the suggested solution.¹⁴³

3. Habits

Past behavior can indicate tendencies for future behavior when resulting from habits.¹⁴⁴ If a persuader is looking to sustainably influence the behavior of others, in a most general sense he is looking to break an individual's old habits and instill new more conducive ones. Habits evolve from well-learned links between goals and the behaviors used to successfully reach those goals. Repetition of a behavior (habit) that results in consistent benefits (reinforcement) eventually forms a single mental association between the goal and the habit. This conceptual simplification decreases the need for deliberate

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 53.

¹⁴¹ Cragin et al., “Dissuading Terror,” 20.

¹⁴² Schein et al., *Coercive Persuasion*, 247.

¹⁴³ Robert B. Cialdini, Wilhelmina Wosinska, Daniel W. Barrett, Jonathan Butner, and Malgorzata Gornik-Durose, “Compliance with a Request in Two Cultures: The Differential Influence of Social Proof and Commitment/Consistency on Collectivists and Individualists,” in *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25, no. 10 (1999): 1243.

¹⁴⁴ Judith A. Ouellette and Wendy Wood, “Habit and Intention in Everyday Life: The Multiple Processes by Which Past Behavior Predicts Future Behavior,” in *Psychological Bulletin* 124, no. 1 (1998): 54.

cognitive attention, moving the behavior towards automaticity.¹⁴⁵ Habits once formed continue to prejudice subsequent behavior over an extended time period, depending on the strength of the formed associations.

The strength of a habit is a direct reflection of its practiced frequency. Wood and Neal argue that a self-sustaining habit eventually “comes to be triggered by the [mere] perception of cues in the performance context,” rather than from any conscious pursuit of the originating goal.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, they reference the broad literature that shows that deliberate repetition produces implicit learning of context-response associations, which can influence subsequent selection of behavioral responses.¹⁴⁷ This suggests that habits can be formed or existing habits modified through repetitive action, which does not require conscious agreement with, or pursuit of, a specific goal.

Habits are not changed by persuasive appeals to an individual’s goals. “Breaking” is facilitated by creating a more attractive (rewarding) behavioral option or by muting the salience of habit-triggering cues. Aarts and Dijksterhuis suggest that stimulating mental “planning,” or repetitively imagining an alternative behavioral solution, can lead to the formation of similar goal-action associations that can compete against deeply engrained habits.¹⁴⁸ However, lack of immediate (short term) evidence that the new outcome will produce sufficient reward is the most common point of failure.¹⁴⁹

Disruption interferes with the learned habitual response to existing habit-cues. “If people are best able to act on their goals when related habits are disrupted, then it is during these times that people’s overt responses are most likely to be vulnerable to change through persuasive messages.”¹⁵⁰ This implies that providing cognitive

¹⁴⁵ Henk Aarts and Ap Dijksterhuis, “Habits as Knowledge Structures: Automaticity in Goal-Directed Behavior,” in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 78, no. 1 (2000): 53.

¹⁴⁶ Wendy Wood and David T. Neal, “A New Look at Habits and Habit-Goal Interface,” in *Psychological Review* 114, no. 4 (2007): 843.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 851.

¹⁴⁸ Aarts et al., “Habits as Knowledge Structures,” 61.

¹⁴⁹ Ouellette et al., “Habit and Intention in Everyday Life,” 70.

¹⁵⁰ Wood et al., “A New Look at Habits and Habit-Goal Interface,” 859.

“breathing space” permits persuasive appeals to be considered or exercised sufficiently so that a new habit can compete or supplant the old one.

F. GOVERNING PSYCHO-SOCIAL PRINCIPLES

The intermediate objective for reviewing the psychological literature on influence is to distil the governing psycho-social principles that can most affect a person’s tendency to comply with an explicit or implicit behavior request. Prominent psychologist Dr. Robert Cialdini argues that the majority of successful persuasion techniques stem from just six governing psycho-social principles: reciprocity, commitment and consistency, social proof, authority, liking, and scarcity.¹⁵¹ His findings are well-supported in the literature. He is cited in most modern discussions on the topic and his work is strongly subscribed to by today’s reigning persuasion experts, the marketing agencies. As further elaborated in Figure 1, this thesis has utilized his six principles to organize broader findings from the psychological literature. Doing so leads me to identify some potential gaps, and address sufficiency of the framework.

¹⁵¹ Robert B. Cialdini, *Influence: Science and Practice, Fifth Edition*, (New York: Pearson Education, 2009), xii.

BEHAVIORISM		COGNITIVISM						Effect Durability	
Major Concepts	Reciprocity	Commitment & Consistency	Social Proof	Authority	Using	Scarcity	Considerations of Note	Heuristic Triggering	
Respondent Conditioning # Feedback: Experience # Habit formation # Differential Reinforcement		# Repetition # "Baby Stages" behaviors			# +/- Associations produce judgment # Similar		# Emotional framing # Incremental Reinforcement of behavior # Bold forms neural imprints, tendencies # Status vs Authority	# Positive model increase behavior conformity # Frequency of cue increases probability of future use # Repeated	# Repetition, emotion type & intensity # Social assessment (evaluation, salience, and temporal proximity) # Results build positive prejudice toward actions repeated
Operant Conditioning # Feedback: Vicarious & Experience # Initiation, Modeling # Feedback Loop: Iterative Adjustment # Praise/Responses # Parallel, Dual process # Hierarchy of Behaviors	# Social Observation of consequences leads to initial behavior initiation; reinforcement induces further repetition	# Repetition # "Self-focus" drives "Discrepancy Reduction" # Behavior is an aggregate of component behaviors # Festinger's "Cognitive Dissonance" # Repetition with success reinforces "status quo"	# Social Verification	# Modeling the Credible and Higher Status # Similar			# Controlled processing at one level triggers heuristics for all lower levels # Short term component goals are more susceptible to influence # Good/Bad assessment is a "universal" base heuristic # Mood Priming # Doing forms neural imprints, tendencies	# "Script" used if stored and sufficiently salient # When goal is less important, the situation familiar, and the info congruent # Repetition builds neural-memory bonds that bias response selection # Cues can trigger heuristics beyond original context # Short term triggering effects	
Cybernetics & Control Theory # Feedback: Incremental Diff.-Based Learning # Attention Dependency # Practice is Key # Memory Bonds # Preconscious Priming					# +/- assessment biases subsequent judgment			# Increasing confidence decreases need for deliberate attention # Heuristic cues # Triggered goals trigger associated behaviors	
Automaticity # Learned: repetition & feedback # "Satisfice" # Mitigates cognitive capacity limitations	# "Tit for Tat" # "Anchoring" first move sets contrast that motivates reciprocation	# "Default" # "Anchoring" what comes first strongly guides subsequent behavior	# Observation provides "behavioral strategies" for trial # "Immitate the Majority" # "Representativeness"	# "Immitate the Successful" # "Representativeness"	# "Immitate the Successful" # "Availability" intense associations increase recall # "Anchoring" deviation from self # "Representativeness" # "Affect" others motivates continued use	# "Take the Best" # "Anchoring" contrast reference	# Anchoring contrast & 1st impression power # Cue's sub-cues # Framing to induce "Availability" & "Affect" # Self-generated "Anchoring" # "Representativeness" # "Satisficing", "Equality", and "Tying"	# Cue salience # Time and uncertainty pressures # Judgment Biases	# Attribution Framing/Coupling # Cue increases use
Heuristics # Short term change focus # Loss avoidance	# Debt avoidance	# Change sensitivity prejudices for consistency			# Gain or loss framing colors subsequent perceptions, like risk and reward values	# Loss avoidance motivation # "Endowment Effect"		# Adjust reference point # Adjusts motivation value	# Manipulation of the reference point and frame of mind
Prospect Theory # Dual Mode, Co-occurrence # Goal: Accuracy Confidence # Least Effort # "Choice Threshold" # Intuition	# Trustworthiness, source credibility # Compliance: anticipatory forces acting upon him	# Actions should reflect beliefs # Reject arguments too incompatible with existing beliefs	# Follow the majority	# Deference to "Experts" # Deference to elite/power status	# Deference to those most similar # Deference to "Attractiveness" # Social role models	# Risk assessment (pessimism) # Heuristics bias are still used by systematic processing # Cue's influence affects heuristic impression # Mood biases	# Default process mode # Pressure & distraction # Cue's influence affects heuristic impression, info, needed adjustments # Cue salience	# Dual mode reinforcement increases longevity # Repetition & anchoring increases its salience, increases its use # "Scanning" conclusions are more resilient # Active participation # Refresher: belief congruency	# Dual mode reinforcement increases longevity # Repetition & anchoring increases its salience, increases its use
Dual Process Models: HSM & ELM # Lewin's Model: Opposing forces to change # "Scan" Learning # Preservation of self-image	# Field Theory: flow and take between the individual and the environmental forces acting upon him	# Desire to remain in the Status Quo...version to risk/loss	# Environmental "scanning"	# Social role models	# Maintain social group's approval (liking)		# Coping Mechanisms # Individuals more affected if he thinks he same to the conclusion # Small, iterative adjustments we're rewards to change larger behavior		# "Scanning" conclusions are more resilient # Active participation # Refresher: belief congruency
Change Theory # Kelman's Model: levels of motivation, attitude change processes	# Normative influence # Compliance: anticipatory payback	# Normative influence # Predictability is desired by the group, so acts as a pressure on the individual	# Informative influence # Identification, possibly internalization	# Informative influence # Internalization: credible reputation	# Normative influence # Identification: "Attractiveness" and similarity to self	# Informative influence # Psycho-Reaction	# Path from identification to internalization # Influence goal need to fit chosen process	# Strength of Influencing Power Sources	# Identification & internalization # Repeated evaluation confirms decisions process
Change Process # Learned mental links # Repetition increases strength		# Habit becomes new status quo					# mental "planning" can compete with "real" experience # Deliberate disposition of old habit to induce new one	# Salient, well-employed habit best can activate behavior independent of original goal	# Practiced frequency # Short term rewards buy patience for larger habits # Behavior adoption
Habit Formation									

Figure 1. Psychology Literature Influence Findings Organized around Robert Cialdini's Six Principles of Influence.

G. CHAPTER DISCUSSION

A vast body of psychological literature and findings exists on the antecedent conditions and principles that can affect a person's tendency to comply with an explicit or implicit behavior request. The strongest determinant appears to be the level of cognitive effort used to process the influencing information. When attentive and motivated, the individual tends to practice more systematic (thorough) analysis of the information and is concerned with finding an optimal solution. When the information seems routine or less critical, the individual relies more heavily on heuristics and other social cues to achieve a merely sufficient solution.

A second significant determinant is the direct and indirect feedback from the social environment. The literature suggests that most of an individual's daily decision-making and behavior are governed by heuristics. These rules of thumb can be learned by direct experience, but are most often learned vicariously, through observation and social instruction. The literature argues that the individual is driven by the need to be liked by others and to be right in the eyes of those others. That is why modeling "successful" others is such an effective and employed decision strategy. Driven by the survival skill for cognitive efficiency, individuals permit heuristics to be triggered autonomously by simple informational cues. Notably, these cues can be deliberately signaled, even when out of original context, to elicit the associated autonomous response.

A third strong determinant affecting the tendency to comply is judgmental and perceptual bias. The "natural" cognitive process produces several intrinsic heuristics, such as whatever comes to mind first or most easily is felt to be the more likely "right" answer. As such, manipulating the salience of select heuristic cues increases their recall prominence and hence their considered credibility. The way a decision and its potential outcomes are framed can also significantly affect decision-making tendencies. Positive moods instill a greater sense of confidence, which increases the likely use of heuristic solutions. According to Prospect theory, a person in a gain-frame of mind considers "losses" to be more significant than equal gains, prejudicing him against loss or risk.

1. Psycho-social Principles' Sufficiency Assessment

The preceding literature review supports the sufficiency of the six governing principles of influence, proposed by Dr. Cialdini. However, I propose several small adjustments. The use of reciprocity should more thoroughly incorporate the human social desire to establish and balance interpersonal trust. As trust is the basis for social capital, its specific manipulation should motivate strong reactions.¹⁵² It would also be worthwhile for *reciprocity* to include efforts that affect how the individual's perceives the "size" of the received favor (refer to the *anchoring* heuristic), which should affect his motivation to repay it and the "size" of his reciprocal favor.

It would be beneficial if *commitment and consistency* expanded to include the internal drive to maintain the status quo or execute the default response. This would better incorporate the initial hurdle of applying sufficient stimulus to motivate a desire to change (refer to *Inherent Resistance*, under *Change Theory*), but less than would trigger coping mechanisms (refer to *Compliance*, under *Change Theory*). This principle would do well to reinforce its conclusions on active participation, with the implications from Thaler's Endowment Effect, which states that people assign a greater value to something once they feel they have a personal stake in it (property, ideas, etc.).¹⁵³

Social proof should incorporate the persuasive influence of minority opinion. The work by Bibb Latané and others find that a person needs just a few others with a similar dissenting view to cope with the pressure of the contrary majority opinion.¹⁵⁴

Authority and *liking* should explore the difference between modeling and imitation (refer to *Social Role Models*). The literature suggests that imitation is more

¹⁵² Francis Fukuyama, "Social Capital," in *Culture Matters*, ed. Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 98. See also, Jennifer Widner, "Building Effective Trust in the Aftermath of Severe Conflict," in *When States Fail*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 223, 225.

¹⁵³ Richard Thaler, "Toward a Positive Theory of Consumer Choice," in *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 1, no.1 (1980): 39–60.

¹⁵⁴ Refer to: Bibb Latané, "The Psychology of Social Impact," in *American Psychologist* 36, no. 4 (1981): 343–356; and Sara M. Baker and Richard E. Petty, "Majority and Minority Influence: Source-Position Imbalance as a Determinant of Message Scrutiny," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 67, no. 1 (1994): 5–19; and Serge Moscovici, Elizabeth Lage, and Martine Naffrechoux, "Influence of a Consistent Minority on the Responses of a Majority in a Color Perception Task," in *Sociometry* (1969): 365–380.

behavioral compliance, without any requirement for belief adjustment associated with the process of identification (refer to *Change Process*). Modeling suggests some level of deliberation and selectivity. This form of active and willing participation should lead to identification with the “accuracy and appropriateness” of the modeled person or group’s actions and values. Additionally, although *liking* incorporates the *affect* heuristic (an initial prejudice of good or bad), it does not specifically account for the powerful and lingering impact of other priming, such as from strong emotions. The research shows that certain moods (refer to *Priming*) endure beyond their context and bias subsequent perception and decision-making (refer to *Habits*).

2. Perpetuating Influence

The literature reveals support for this thesis’ initial hypothesis: social influence efforts that utilize cumulative, small-scale behavioral acts of compliance can generate self-sustaining behaviors that leads to adjustments in long-term compliance and beliefs. Repetition was consistently cited as a powerful and critical component to predicting future behavior. Repetition increases the probability of forming and continuously using a learned heuristic. The literature also suggests that an individual will continue to default to a learned heuristic until a more rewarding heuristic is formed. Since habits can elicit behavior without the need for intention, the literature on habit formation offers some promising avenues for perpetuating desired behaviors beyond external reinforcement. There is growing evidence from neuroscience that suggests physical repetition produces durable neural bonds, or formed synaptic “shortcuts,” between specific perceptions and associated reactions.¹⁵⁵ If true, the same principle of cognitive efficiency should increase the likelihood that the brain chooses these effortless and hard-wired synaptic shortcuts to solve problems.

As a related component to repetition, there are strong references to the effectiveness of changing larger complex behaviors by changing the sub-component behaviors. The constituent behaviors, because of their seeming insignificance to the

¹⁵⁵ Petri et al., “Behaviorism, Cognitivism and the Neuropsychology of Memory,” 30–37.

individual, should reduce the strength of motivational and attentional forces that would resist manipulation. In the aggregate, these influenced sub-behaviors should result in an adjustment to the larger desired composite behavior. Behaviorism strongly advocates for this use of differential reinforcement, or reinforcement of successive approximations of the target behavior, to ultimately acquire the desired complex behavior. In parallel, the literature suggests that frequent smaller rewards have greater effect on influencing behavior than do promised larger “distant” rewards. Timely and frequent feedback buys continued compliance, increasing the opportunity for sheer repetition to produce the durability effects outlined previously.

Although not explicitly referenced in the reviewed psychology literature, the phenomenon of working from the bottom-up suggests that even if the component behaviors are coerced, if they can be repeated long enough so as to be incorporated into the person’s identity foundation, the individual should be less and less inclined or capable of discounting or discontinuing those behaviors, resulting in identification or internalization.

Finally, decisions derived from more systematic processing are more durable than those resulting from predominantly heuristic processing. Because the processes can co-occur, the literature suggests that durability can be increased by stimulating the individual to exercise both paths. Systematic processing inherently requires more active and willing participation, a key factor for moving from compliance toward identification and then internalization. Increasing the number of influence principles operating on the individual should also increase the longevity of a persuaded behavior change because it compounds the perceived costs from discontinuing and benefits for maintaining the behavior.

However, according to Brehm’s theory of psychological reactance, “if a person’s behavioral freedom is reduced or threatened with reduction, the person will become motivationally aroused. This arousal would presumably be directed toward the reestablishment of whatever freedom had already been lost or threatened.”¹⁵⁶ This theory would suggest that there is a point of diminishing returns when layering additional

¹⁵⁶ J.W. Brehm “A Theory of Psychological Reactance,” in *Organization Change: A Comprehensive Reader*, ed. Warner Burke, Dale G. Lake, and Jill Waymire Paine (San Francisco: Josey-Bass, 2009), 378.

influence sources. Approaching a certain threshold of applied persuasive “control,” the individual becomes increasingly likely to perceive the control as external and will become motivated to resist.

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III. PROPAGANDA AND INFLUENCE

“In such a world where image is everything, reality has nothing to do with ‘facts’ or ‘the truth’. The only truth is power.”¹⁵⁷

By general definition, propaganda is information used to advance a favored cause, while undermining an opposing case. The literature broadly agrees that the effectiveness of this type of persuasive communication depends on three principles: getting the target’s attention, getting the target to believe it is in his best interest to take action, and providing the target with a solution for how best to act. Over time, through discovery learning and advances in psychological science, the art of bundling these three has led to increasingly efficient methods to influence the likelihood an individual will comply with an explicit or implicit behavioral request. This chapter samples the academic, Soviet social control, and military literature on propaganda to discern the major influence tactics, techniques, and principles that most affect a person’s likelihood to comply with an explicit or implicit behavior request.

A. ACADEMIC

Given the exigencies of the World Wars, the exponential growth in global commercialism, and technological advances in mass media, intense demands have been made on psychological science to provide practical solutions to improving the effectiveness of persuasive arguments. This thesis reviews the academic literature grouped into three time periods: the world wars (1914–1949), the cold war (1950–1989), and the information age (1990–present). The findings reveal an accelerated convergence among psychology, propaganda, and marketing to where today, discussions about political elections or marketing strategies borrow clearly from the lexicon of psychological science. Essentially, psychology proposes; marketing and politics confirm through practical application and results.

¹⁵⁷ Philip Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 319.

1. World War Influence (1914–1949)

The circumstances surrounding two back-to-back total wars permitted experimentation in depth of propaganda techniques, to include prolonging their behavioral effects. During the First World War, the players possessed an extremely myopic view of the need for credibility and so were lavish in their employment of blatantly false propaganda. The Second World War, still an existential fight, witnessed a greater concern for balancing immediate effects with the need to protect some aspects of credibility over an indeterminately long struggle and beyond. A review of the propaganda literature during this period reveals three common insights on securing effective propaganda: social conformity, manipulation of symbols, and the application of reinforcement.

a. Social Conformity

The propaganda literature during this time period is just beginning to articulate the psychological and sociological connections between the group and the individual's behavior, acknowledging that "right" behavioral response is always uncertain to the individual; he needs to reconfirm his answer with the social majority and expects the reward of continued membership for doing so. Walter Lippmann in "The Phantom Public" concludes that the individual, who generally seeks to economize his expenditure of effort, must make judgments "on the basis of a [observed] sample behavior, an aspect of the situation."¹⁵⁸ Harold Lasswell in "The Function of the Propagandist" remarks that an individual determines appropriateness from the consistent pattern of action he perceives is endorsed by the group.¹⁵⁹ Hadley Cantril in "Propaganda Analysis" and Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton in "Mass Communications, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action" note that one of the strongest compliance motivators

¹⁵⁸ Walter Lippmann, "The Phantom Public," in *Propaganda*, ed. Robert Jackall (New York: New York Universities Press, 1995), 51. Reprinted from *The Phantom Public* (London: Macmillan, 1925).

¹⁵⁹ Harold D. Lasswell, "The Function of the Propagandist," in *International Journal of Ethics* 38, no. 3 (1928): 265.

is an individual's drive to maintain or increase his status.¹⁶⁰ This suggests that an individual can be motivated to seek and accept a behavioral change if he thinks there is either a risk to his status or an opportunity to improve it.

b. *Manipulation of Symbols*

Propaganda can coopt existing symbols in a way that “naturally” transfers their influential power over to new symbols. Kermit Roosevelt Jr., in “Propaganda Techniques of the English Civil Wars and the Propaganda Psychosis of Today,” discusses Leonard Doob’s eight principles of propaganda. Under the second principle, *perception*, Doob recommends using “bait,” an evocative symbol not normally associated with the message, to gain and maintain the attention of the target. For example, Roosevelt refers to the use of a “pretty girl” in ads to sell tomato juice.¹⁶¹ Cantril remarks that successful propaganda is able to “connect the idea or object you are propagandizing with some attitude, symbol, or emotion that people already know and feel strongly about.”¹⁶² The thesis of Harold Lasswell’s “Propaganda” is that propaganda is basically “the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations.”¹⁶³ The conditions that facilitate humans to socially organize make them overly susceptible to the influence of acculturated symbols and associations.

An authority figure or expert can convey a degree of high credibility that goes beyond the mere execution of that person’s official duties as an expert. Lazarsfeld et al. believe that a person’s coverage by the mass media itself conveys a social signal of high status and credibility. “Recognition by the press or radio or magazines or newsreels testifies [to society] that one has arrived, that one is important...that one’s behavior and

¹⁶⁰ Hadley Cantril, “Propaganda Analysis,” in *The English Journal* 27, no. 3 (1938): 220; Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, “Mass Communications, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action,” in *The Communication of Ideas*, ed. Lyman Bryson (New York: Harper Bros., 1948), 235.

¹⁶¹ Kermit Roosevelt Jr., “Propaganda Techniques of the English Civil Wars- and the Propaganda Psychosis of Today,” in *Pacific Historical Review* 12, no. 4 (1943): 372.

¹⁶² Cantril, “Propaganda Analysis,” 218.

¹⁶³ Harold Lasswell, “Propaganda,” in *Propaganda*, ed. Robert Jackall (New York: New York Universities Press, 1995), 13. Reprinted from *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1st edition, Volume XII, ed. Edwin Seligman (London: Macmillan, 1934).

opinions are significant enough to require public notice.”¹⁶⁴ Cantril, in discussing the three reasons why propagandists are successful, suggests that the human need to not appear ignorant leads us to “accept the judgment of some authority... [feeling] that he must know more about the issue than we do.”¹⁶⁵ Lippmann in *The Good Society* argues that society craves liberty, but demands that the state increase its control so that there is predictability in other’s behaviors.¹⁶⁶ In democracies, this generates a willing and strong propensity to defer to authority figures. In further support, Lippmann defines the goal of public action research as the search for the specific cues that define authority figures so that they can be deliberately activated in persuasive requests to stimulate group action.¹⁶⁷ Underlying the broad assertions about propaganda’s potential, including symbol manipulation, these authors all generally argue that influence is more successful when it incrementally adjusts existing beliefs and preferences, rather than seeking to elicit abrupt or diametrically inconsistent behaviors.

c. Reinforcement

Propaganda works best by coopting existing beliefs and behaviors. After reviewing the last 75 years of persuasion and propaganda development, Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell note that “selectivity in the perception of messages is generally guided by preexisting interests and behavior patterns of the receivers.”¹⁶⁸ However, they also write that influence is best achieved on “unfamiliar, lightly felt, peripheral issues that do not matter much or are not tied to audience predispositions.”¹⁶⁹ Lasswell similarly notes that the goal of a propagandist should be to create a favorable atmosphere for

¹⁶⁴ Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, “Mass Communications, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action,” in *The Communication of Ideas*, ed. Lyman Bryson (New York: Harper Bros., 1948), 235.

¹⁶⁵ Cantril, “Propaganda Analysis,” 220.

¹⁶⁶ Walter Lippmann, *The Good Society, with an introduction by Gary Dean Best* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

¹⁶⁷ Lippmann, “The Phantom Public,” 50.

¹⁶⁸ Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion, 2nd edition*, (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications), 122–154. Accessed 30 January 2013, <http://people.ucalgary.ca/~rseiler/jowett.htm>.

¹⁶⁹ Jowett et al., *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 122–154.

suggestive changes. He references the work of Kurt Lewin, noting that one needs to inventory the existing forces for and against a desired change because there are some immovable conditions for which influence will prove ineffective.¹⁷⁰ Overall, the literature suggests that propaganda is ineffective when it seeks change that is too contrary to prevailing sentiment, and more effective still when it addresses seemingly inconsequential aspects of those prevailing sentiments. This is the essence of an indirect approach; successful propaganda agitates only up to the threshold where the individual would enact coping mechanisms (unless the propagandist is interested in evoking coping mechanisms because they yield reactions that can be anticipated and thus leveraged).

Propaganda works best by reinforcing incremental changes in the direction of the desired behavior. Kermit speaks of building new associations to existing power symbols, done so “little by little—a hint here, a sly allusion there.”¹⁷¹ Lazarsfeld et al. warn that propaganda should pay attention to prominent advertising practices. For its part, advertising strategy seeks to create a simple preference and “once the gross pattern of behavior or the generic attitude has been established, it can be canalized in one direction or another.”¹⁷² This suggests that a key condition for success of the indirect approach is to obtain change at levels that do not breach the threshold of more systematic examination by the individual of the persuasive request.

Propaganda combined with participation establishes a reciprocal reinforcement effect. The literature reveals the significance of consistency in motivating behavior. Jowett and O'Donnell refer to an economical advantage to incremental persuasion; “a propagandist does not have to win people over on every issue..., if [he] can get people to agree with him or her on one or two issues, then their opinion toward him or her may become favorable.”¹⁷³ Leonard Doob in *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* twice lists repetition as an auxiliary principle, predominately for increasing the

¹⁷⁰ Lasswell, “Propaganda,” 18.

¹⁷¹ Kermit, “Propaganda Techniques of the English Civil Wars,” 376.

¹⁷² Lazarsfeld et al., “Mass Communications,” 247.

¹⁷³ Jowett et al., *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 124–154.

opportunities for the subject to perceive and process the persuasive request.¹⁷⁴ Lazarsfeld et al. discuss mass media's effects on conformity. Mass media stimulate active participation "by 'exposing' conditions which are at variance with public moralities."¹⁷⁵ The authors believe that with this exposure comes significant intrinsic and extrinsic pressure to act in accordance with the beliefs of the group.¹⁷⁶ Lazarsfeld et al. also address the concept of "reciprocal reinforcement," or the idea that propaganda is more effective when combined with active participation.¹⁷⁷ Carl Hovland recognizes this potential in group dynamics, referencing his and Lewin's wartime experiments that concluded that "group discussion followed by group decision to carry out some particular social action...was more effective than lectures and individual decision."¹⁷⁸ This suggests that if propaganda can generate dissonance between the individual's identity and his group identity, the individual should feel compelled to reduce the discomfort by exiting the group, ceasing the behavior, or internalizing the inconsistency into his identity.

2. Cold War Influence (1950–1989)

This period of propaganda evolution was heavily influenced by the communist-capitalist Cold War struggle for global influence. At the same time, in the capitalist world, mass automobile and television ownership created the conditions for intense commercial competition, drastically expanding the employment of advertising and public relations research in persuasive messaging.

a. Indirect Approach

As during the previous time period, literature during this period broadly recommends the indirect approach to behavior change, that of working within the target's

¹⁷⁴ Leonard Doob, *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (Yale University, CT: Henry Holt and Company, 1935), 413–417. A summary list of Doob's principles of propaganda accessed 31 January 2013, at <http://www.rigorousintuition.ca/board2/viewtopic.php?f=44&t=34579>.

¹⁷⁵ Lazarsfeld et al., "Mass Communications," 236.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 237.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 247.

¹⁷⁸ Carl Hovland, "Social Communication," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 92, no. 5 (1948): 373.

existing framework. Social psychologist Milton Rokeach writes that an individual's mental flexibility greatly determines access to and reception of persuasive appeals; "the degree to which a person's belief system is open or closed is the extent to which the person can receive, evaluate, and act on relevant information received from the outside on its own intrinsic merits."¹⁷⁹ Wilbur Schramm, in *How Communication Works*, similarly emphasizes that the effective communicator "must build on what already exists."¹⁸⁰

b. Participation

The influencing effect of active participation is broadly recognized as a mechanism to increase the likelihood an individual will incorporate the beliefs implied by his actions. Jacques Ellul in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* notes that sanctioned but channeled criticism is "one of the best propaganda operations: the more criticism of the bureaucrat is permitted, the more the citizen is tied to the government."¹⁸¹ In "The Cold War System of Emotion Management," Guy Oakes notes that the crux of the U.S. government effort to control public emotional response to nuclear war centered on engaging them in repeated civil defense drills.¹⁸²

c. Symbols

A society transmits its instructions for appropriate behavior through its symbols. By understanding these symbols and their cues, the influencing agent can leverage his influencing power. One of Ellul's overarching premises is that propaganda acts best "where man's psychology is influenced by the crowd or mass to which he

¹⁷⁹ Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind* (Oxford, England: Basic Books, 1960), 57.

¹⁸⁰ Wilbur Schramm, *How Communication Works: The Process and Effects of Mass Communication* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954), III-I-14. Reprinted from the 53rd *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1952).

¹⁸¹ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 153. Original print, 1965.

¹⁸² Guy Oakes, "Cold War System of Emotion Management: Mobilizing the Home Front for the Third World War," in *Propaganda*, ed. Robert Jackall (New York: New York Universities Press, 1995), 289.

belongs.”¹⁸³ The mass communicates through the symbols it adopts and willingly empowers. This makes the individual who defines himself within and by the standards of his group extremely susceptible to its symbols’ purposeful manipulation. From another perspective, Schramm sees all messages as symbols, “a signal that stands for something in experience.”¹⁸⁴ However, he believes that since there is already so much “noise” between what one intends to send and how the receiver understands it, it is best to use the most simple and recognizable signals to ensure accurate message transference.

The “Cold War period” propaganda literature further reinforces earlier conclusions that experts, authority figures, and status holders disproportionately influence the opinion of others. Israel Gerver and Joseph Bensman, in “Towards a Sociology of Expertness,” remark that “expert status is granted or denied by public acceptance or rejection of claims.”¹⁸⁵ This facilitates the transfer of their credibility and influence to other non-substantive domains.¹⁸⁶ John Black in “Another Perspective on Mass Media Propaganda” credits life’s daily overload of information with man’s willingness to “accept some superior authority of information or belief to make sense of the world.”¹⁸⁷ Terence Qualter, in *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare* begins to tease out an interesting point on building credible reputation: “it is better [(more credible)] to have a friend tell others how good you are than for you to do it yourself.”¹⁸⁸ This suggests that self-assertions of credibility are less effective than third-party vouching.

¹⁸³ Ellul, *Propaganda*, 94.

¹⁸⁴ Schramm, *How Communication Works*, III-I-4.

¹⁸⁵ Israel Gerver and Joseph Bensman, “Towards a Sociology of Expertness,” in *Propaganda*, ed. Robert Jackall (New York: New York Universities Press, 1995), 54. Reprinted from *Social Forces* 32 (1954).

¹⁸⁶ Gerver et al., “Towards a Sociology of Expertness,” 61.

¹⁸⁷ John Jay Black, “Another Perspective on Mass Media Propaganda,” in *General Semantics Bulletin* 44, no. 45 (1977): 95.

¹⁸⁸ Terence Qualter, *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare* (New York: Random House, 1962), 278.

d. *Components of Effective Communication*

The interrelations among the critical components comprising an effective communication (persuasive request) received particular attention during this period. The prominent communications researcher Wilbur Schramm argues that there are four principal components: attention, understanding, arousal, and solution.¹⁸⁹ Oakes describes three steps to effective communication: trigger introspection, create a desire to change, and then suggest a solution that would satisfy the need.¹⁹⁰ Ellul, in talking about the philosophical foundations of propaganda, does not specifically list components but instead addresses several key conditions that similarly favor success: use pre-propaganda to increase susceptibility,¹⁹¹ create anxiety by suggesting there is a problem,¹⁹² and suggest the solution that will release the manufactured tension.¹⁹³ The important takeaway here is that priming an individual's perception before presenting him the behavioral request is both feasible and productive for increasing his receptiveness to compliance requests.

e. *Journalism Techniques of Persuasion*

Black references similar findings by prominent journalism scholars J.A.C. Brown, John Merrill, and Ralph Lowenstein on the dominant persuasive techniques employed by journalists. It is important to note that these authors view the techniques negatively, as ethical failures that turn journalism into propaganda.

Negative Persuasion Techniques Used in Journalism¹⁹⁴

- 1) Invoke 'authorities' to establish unchallenged credibility
- 2) Suggest opinion as fact

¹⁸⁹ Schramm, *How Communication Works*, 11.

¹⁹⁰ Oakes, "Cold War System of Emotion Management," 281.

¹⁹¹ Ellul, *Propaganda*, 30.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 209.

¹⁹⁴ James Alexander Brown, *Techniques of Persuasion: From Propaganda to Brainwashing* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 26; and John Merrill and Ralph Lowenstein, *Media, Messages, and Men: New Perspectives in Communication* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1971), 221. As cited in Black, "Another Perspective on Mass Media Propaganda," 98.

- 3) Selective emphasis of the truth
- 4) Fictionalizing gaps and causal relationships
- 5) Invoke stereotypes
- 6) Confer attribution by biased words, headlines, photographs
- 7) Emphasizing the negative, promoting preexisting dispositions towards targets
- 8) Repetition...creating memorable slogans

I assume that because these authors felt motivated to specifically identify and condemn these techniques that they are “unfair,” but effective at manipulating public opinion when employed. The list reinforces the growing conclusion that symbol manipulation, whether of authority figures, words, or ideas (slogans), can powerfully influence an individual’s perception and his subsequent reactions. Techniques five through seven have been previously addressed under *attribution bias*. Interestingly, in two, three, and four, here again are strong indicators that selective emphasis of the truth is seen as an effective manipulation device. The problem as always remains the tradeoff between influence gained by economizing truth and the long term risk to broader credibility. Technique eight highlights yet another facet of repetition; this time, its ability to create and embed memorable symbols and symbol associations. This is similar to the effect of repeated exposure to a TV commercial, resulting in its jingle coming to mind uncontrollably and over an extended period of time.

f. Jacques Ellul

In reference to long- and short-term prospects for successful compliance, Ellul differentiates between propaganda of agitation and propaganda of integration. Agitation propaganda harnesses resentment and other powerful negative emotions to drive people into action. “Hate, hunger, and pride make better levers of propaganda than do love or impartiality.”¹⁹⁵ He argues that this type of propaganda, while quicker to result in action, is extremely difficult to predict and therefore control. Integration propaganda is based on stimulating the individual to reach conclusions that result in the desired change

¹⁹⁵ Ellul, *Propaganda*, 38.

and lead him to internalize the adjustment.¹⁹⁶ Together, these processes of integration lead to greater effect durability. The concept and potential of agitation propaganda appears to be too quickly dismissed today, perhaps because of its negative associations with revolutionary movements such as Mao's.¹⁹⁷ If the need is for quick action and expedience outweighs the value of long-term source credibility, then the techniques involved in agitation propaganda could best serve that goal.

Another interesting point raised by Ellul has to do with an individual's powerful drive for self-justification. Resulting from his firm belief in group influence on the individual, one of Ellul's premises throughout is the need to increase the individual's dependence on mass society. Incidentally, this involves isolating the individual from smaller group memberships, which provide him escapes from propaganda's motivating anxiety.¹⁹⁸ "As a result of all the threats and contradictions in contemporary society, man feels accused, guilty...one of man's greatest inner needs is to feel that he is right."¹⁹⁹ Ellul believes that man needs to constantly confirm that his behavior is just, that those valued opinion holders surrounding him view him as behaving justly, and that the group he belongs to is itself righteous in its actions and beliefs.²⁰⁰ According to Ellul, persuasive requests that imply an individual's actions are in conflict with the group he values can significantly motivate the individual to accept that there is a need for change, thereby increasing his susceptibility to proffered solutions.

The larger effect of this self-justification and maintenance of group expectation is to drive the individual to be consistent. With behavioral consistency a behavior becomes self-reinforcing.

Action makes propaganda's effect irreversible. He who acts in obedience to propaganda can never go back. He is now obliged to *believe* in that propaganda because of his past action. He is obliged to receive from it his

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 29.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 25.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 82.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 155.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 8, 30, 47, 84, 155.

justification and authority, without which his action will seem to him absurd or unjust, which would be intolerable. He is obliged to continue to advance in the direction indicated by propaganda, for action demands more action. He is what one calls committed.²⁰¹

Group affirmation requires demonstrable actions by the individual to elicit approving feedback.²⁰² These same actions establish group expectations for similar future behavior by the individual. The individual also experiences increasing internal pressure to be consistent and to rectify discrepancies between his actions and his beliefs. An internalized adjustment to his beliefs makes the connected behavior more automatic, hence more likely in future similar circumstances.

3. Information Age Perspective (1990–present)

The Internet and personal mobile information platforms have vastly increased the opportunities to track an individual's information habits, transmit persuasive messaging more consistently and in greater quantity, and tailor mass messaging to specific audiences. As mentioned before, over time there has been a steady convergence among the fields of psychology, propaganda, and marketing. Unsurprisingly, the relevant findings in this section reflect what can be considered refinements to the previous eras' findings. However, there are a few key points to illuminate and consider.

a. Agenda Setting

As discussed in Chapter II of this thesis, there is a natural human bias to overvalue the initial perception of a situation. The first perception acts as the master contrast point for evaluating any subsequent information. In other words, the first and most pervasive word has the “home field” advantage. According to Elihu Katz in “Communications Research Since Lazarsfeld,” mass media (propaganda) influences by preempting attention and deciding which “headlines” are worthy of consideration, thereby determining the application of limited critical, or not so critical, mass audience

²⁰¹ Ibid., 29.

²⁰² This point is similar to one argued by Eric Hoffer in *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2011).

thought. Because “agenda setting comes masked as information rather than persuasion,” it does not trigger cognitive defense mechanisms.²⁰³ For instance, in the early years of the Afghanistan War, Philip Taylor recounts in *Munitions of the Mind* how the Taliban’s access to Al Jazeera, which broadcast ten hours before Washington, was “able to set the daily [world] news agenda.” This meant that the Al Jazeera version of the truth had the upper cognitive hand. It also meant that the U.S. had to operate defensively, relegating its media energy to refuting the existing Al Jazeera headlines.²⁰⁴

Henry Silverman conducted research on the persuasive effects of consistently biased media reporting by Reuters’ journalists, specifically on the Arab/Israeli conflict. Thanks to repetitive storytelling that used prejudicial symbol-words that favored the Arabs and disfavored the Israelis, he recorded a “significant shift in audience attitudes and support following article readings.” He noted that the most effective biases were generated by words that evoked strong appeals to pity. Michael Hughey, in his review of Robert Jackall’s *Propaganda in the Modern World*, describes several circumstances that historically seem to have increased the effectiveness of propaganda. The first circumstance directly supports the phenomenon described by Silverman, that “propaganda tends to be more effective when there are strong collective emotions to be manipulated.”²⁰⁵ A second circumstance is that repetition can generate an illusion of validity through sheer message quantity. Lastly, Hughey references the advantage to influence efforts that prepare how the individual will frame the behavior request. The social movement literature also recognizes the importance of collective frames of reference, specifically to mobilize mass participation.

²⁰³ Elihu Katz, “Communications Research Since Lazarsfeld,” in *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 51, no.2 (1987): 29.

²⁰⁴ Philip Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 317.

²⁰⁵ Michael W. Hughey, “Propaganda in the Modern World,” a review of, in *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 9, no.4 (1996): 575. The other two conditions for increasing the effectiveness of propaganda are when the audience is less knowledgeable about political and economic realities, meaning they are more dependent on mass media to provide them what they need to know. The last condition is that propaganda will be more effective in the absence of any strong cultural currents against which the request can be measured.

b. Social Mobilization

Active participation can be stimulated by creating valued social identities for the individual and then holding them at risk. We have already noted the individual's constant need for group affirmation of his status and his actions. "Propagandists can play on emotions by focusing threats to this source of self-esteem and then provide a means, compatible with the goals of the propagandist, for dealing with these threats."²⁰⁶ Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson in *Age of Propaganda* identify this influence technique as "granfalloonning," a term borrowed from Kurt Vonnegut's 1963 novel, *Cat's Cradle*.²⁰⁷ When identities become foundations for self-esteem, the individual is driven to protect the identity and the group that enables it.²⁰⁸ This suggests that propaganda compliance requests, oriented toward gaining or maintaining valued group membership, should persuade the individual to willingly act and subsequently incorporate the actions into his identity definition.

Increasing the individual's and group's conception of self-efficacy motivates continued participation. Efficacy can be created by increasing the audience's intrinsic or extrinsic confidence in the value of breaking with the status quo and adopting the persuasive request. Saul Alinsky in *Rules for Radicals* discusses the need for the leader to convince the audience of both the requestor's credibility and the request's feasibility. "They must believe in your capacity not just to provide the opportunity for action, power, change...but to give a very definite promise, almost an assurance of victory."²⁰⁹ Although this seems to suggest that the audience is consistently conducting a critical analysis of the costs and benefits, Alinsky is actually invoking the principle of

²⁰⁶ Marlene E. Turner and Anthony R. Pratkanis, "Persuasion and Democracy: Strategies for Increasing Deliberative Participation and Enacting Social Change," in *Journal of Social Issues* 52, no.1 (1996): 197.

²⁰⁷ Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson, *Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion*, revised edition (New York: Holt Paperback, 2001), Chapter 25.

²⁰⁸ Anthony Pratkanis, "Winning Hearts and Minds: A Social Influence Analysis," in *Information Strategy and Warfare: A Guide to Theory and Practice*, eds. John Arquilla and Douglas Borer (New York: Routledge, 2007), 57.

²⁰⁹ Saul D. Alinsky, *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals* (New York: Random House, 1971, 100. Accessed 6 February 2013, http://servv89pn0aj.sn.sourcedns.com/~gbpprorg/obama/Rules_for_Radicals.pdf.

imminentism. Pratkanis defines this influence tactic as *imagery sells*. He notes that inducing an audience to vividly imagine a desired outcome increases the odds of the audience following that course of action.²¹⁰ If members of the audience can also be convinced that the outcome is imminent, then they should be more likely to adopt the imagined outcome as their new perceptual anchor.

c. Anthony Pratkanis

In his work on propaganda, social psychologist and popularly acknowledged propaganda expert Dr. Anthony Pratkanis presents a list of 18 prominent social persuasion tactics gleaned from his extensive review of influence efforts during conflicts.

Prominent Social Influence Tactics²¹¹

- 1) Fear appeals
- 2) Foot-in-the-door
- 3) Granfalooning
- 4) Projection
- 5) Damn it, refute it, damn it, replace it.
- 6) Authority
- 7) Define and label an issue
- 8) Door-in-the-face
- 9) Emotional see-saw
- 10) Expectations
- 11) Imagery sells
- 12) Norm of reciprocity
- 13) Repetition
- 14) Scarcity
- 15) Social consensus
- 16) Stealing thunder
- 17) Storytelling
- 18) Vivid appeal

Most of these tactics have already been discussed or alluded to in this and the previous chapter. Tactics two, eight, and twelve will be covered in Chapter IV: Marketing. Number nine, the *emotional see-saw* tactic, is an interesting variant on reciprocity, but also overlaps with the concept of unfreezing, as discussed by Kurt Lewin.

²¹⁰ Pratkanis, "Winning the Hearts and Minds," 74.

²¹¹ Ibid., 73.

d. Emotional See-saw

When an individual experiences an abrupt change from one strong externally induced emotion to another, he becomes momentarily disoriented and thus susceptible to persuasive manipulations. Dariusz Dolinski and Richard Nawrat originally dubbed this “good cop-bad cop” tactic as *fear-then-relief*.²¹² The authors explain that the individual, who is running one cognitive program appropriate to the current situation, momentarily defaults to autopilot while the brain tries to decide if it should remain ready to resume or switch to a new more appropriate emotional program.²¹³ Their findings suggest that abruptly oscillating an individual’s emotional framing dislodges his perceptive anchors, allowing persuasive messaging to offer solutions to reestablish a “better” status quo, one that is more conducive to the influencer.

B. SOVIET PROPAGANDA

1. Reflexive Control

The Soviet’s development of psychology was heavily influenced by the reigning Marxist-Leninist dogma, according to which man’s consciousness and his activities were strongly co-dependent.²¹⁴ From this understanding, Vladimir A. Lefebvre, a Soviet researcher, formalized the theory of Reflexive Control (RC). Although initially designed to augment Soviet military doctrine on information warfare, it came to embody the State’s broader philosophy about how to control its population’s behaviors and attitudes. “In the Soviet view, control over a human being would best be exercised by purposefully influencing the inputs he receives from his environment.”²¹⁵ RC theory suggests that selectively influencing an individual’s information channels can shift the flow of

²¹² Dariusz Dolinski and Richard Nawrat, “Fear-Then-Relief Procedure for Producing Compliance: Beware When the Danger is Over,” in *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 34, (1998): 27–50.

²¹³ Dariusz Dolinski and Richard Nawrat, “Seesaw of Emotions and Compliance: Beyond the Fear-Then-Relief Rule,” in *Journal of Social Psychology* 147, no. 5 (2007): 557.

²¹⁴ S. Rubenstein, “Soviet Psychology in Wartime,” in *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 5, no. 2 (1944): 182.

²¹⁵ Diane Chotikul, “The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control in Historical and Psychocultural Perspective: A Preliminary Study,” Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School (1986), 45.

information in ways that predispose him to self-realize and select the “correct” behavior, as desired by the influencer.

Herbert Romerstein, in his contribution to Janos Radvanyi’s *Psychological Operations and Political Warfare in Long-term Strategic Planning*, refers to a similar Soviet influence concept called “active measures.” He refers to the State’s use of influence operations to “cause a target to take actions beneficial to Soviet interests.”²¹⁶ In support, he details the long-term behavioral effects achieved by rewriting and promulgating a doctored Polish WWII liberation history. The Soviets purposefully fictionalized a prominent and heroic Polish role in their liberation from Nazi Germany, assisted by a benevolent Soviet Union. The ‘truth’ is that the Soviet Union occupied Poland by force and manipulated its early government to adopt Soviet-style communism. However, the Polish element in the heroic liberation story became so valued that Poles had to “accept” the codependent myth of a benevolent USSR to protect their own myth-identity.

a. Perception Management

RC focuses on biasing the target’s decision-making process. An individual’s perception of reality results from his “filter,” the way he evaluates and distinguishes important from unimportant information (very similar to the process described by Chaiken et al. in the Heuristic-Systematic Model). Once the weak links of the target’s filter are identified, the influencing agent can deliberately project suggestive information that induces the target to arrive at specific conclusions about a situation (or behavior request). “Reflexive control involves creating a pattern or providing partial information that causes [a target] to react in a predetermined fashion without realizing that he is being manipulated.”²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Herbert Romerstein, “Soviet Active Measures and Propaganda: ‘New Thinking’ and Influence Activities in the Gorbachev Era,” in *Psychological Operations and Political Warfare in Long-term Strategic Planning*, ed. Janos Radvanyi, (New York: Praeger, 1990), 36.

²¹⁷ Timothy L. Thomas, “Human Network Attacks,” in *Military Review* 79, no. 5 (1999): 23–34.

One of the more military-centric effects, valued by the Soviets and now the Russians, is the ability to use RC to generate “surprise,” by unexpectedly shortening the target’s conception of available decision-making time or available options.²¹⁸ In *Soviet Strategic Deception*, Clifford Reid identifies this and nine other reflexive categories, all of which “lead” the individual to adopt desirable perceptions, motivations, or goals.²¹⁹ The stimulation of surprise is similar to the *emotional see-saw* influence tactic cited by Pratkanis, where abrupt swings in mindset momentarily short-circuit critical thinking and trigger default-automatic information processing.

b. Cognitive Mapping

Timothy Thomas’s article suggests that RC works best by leveraging an individual’s role-identities, specifically by forcing him into reflection on the consistency between his beliefs and actions.²²⁰ The Soviets believed that a person’s roles determine his filters (norms, values, behaviors, etc.), which themselves carry inherent cognitive vulnerabilities. The Soviet control program expended significant energy to proactively assign and constantly define its citizens’ roles and role expectations.²²¹ In a much broader context, it used propaganda to imbue greater Soviet culture with certain cognitive associations to make its citizens more susceptible to influence efforts.²²² Diane Chotikul in her study, *The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control in Historical and Psycho-cultural Perspective*, identifies three major areas within the “cognitive arena” that the Soviet state deliberately sought to manipulate through its domestic propaganda and indoctrination

²¹⁸ M.D. Ionov, “On Reflexive Control of the Enemy in Combat,” in *Military Thought*, no. 1, English ed. (January 1995): 46.

²¹⁹ Clifford Reid, “Reflexive Control in Soviet Military Planning,” in *Soviet Strategic Deception*, ed. Brian D. Dailey and Patrick J. Parker (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985). As cited by Timothy L. Thomas, “Russian Reflexive Control Theory and the Military,” in *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 17 (2004): 250.

²²⁰ Thomas, “Russia’s Reflexive Control Theory,” 245.

²²¹ Leon Gouré, *The Military Indoctrination of Soviet Youth* (New York: National Strategy Information Center, 1973), 2.

²²² Chotikul, “The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control,” 45.

campaign in order to instill predictable respect for authority, the inevitability of State victory, and the constant perception of external threat.²²³

c. Authority

Soviet propaganda and indoctrination programs sought to imbue more than just respect for authority; they sought to create a feeling of constant need and perpetual indebtedness to authority, as in George Orwell's dystopian novel, *1984*. The State constructed its propaganda to heighten anxiety over the general conception of one's survival, "leading" the population to crave a protector. The Soviets included messaging that associated a leader's ability to protect with unquestioned subservience.²²⁴ "An idealized and strong leadership, even though often arbitrary and coercive, has thus been acceptable to Russians as a necessary safeguard against anarchy and their own guilt and excesses- a 'moral corset.'"²²⁵ This suggests that influence efforts that use the indirect approach, such as RC, can obtain internalized behavior and belief changes because the individual has reached conclusions through what he believes are his own "correct" deliberations.

d. Inevitability

To supplement blanket respect for authority, the Soviet state deliberately skewed the individual's probability judgments concerning the value of resisting the State. The Soviets manipulated messaging to cause individuals to conclude that Communism was inevitable, and so the State was inevitable. The pervasive and generally adopted Marxist ideology that held communism to be inevitable had already established a well-worn cognitive bias in the minds of the masses.²²⁶ Klaus Mehnert in the *Soviet Man and His World* sums this point up best. "Who can fight, with any prospect of success, against the absolutely inevitable? And who, indeed, would waste time complaining about it?

²²³ Ibid., 46–47.

²²⁴ Gayle Durham Hollander, Janos Radvanyi, and William E. Odom, *Soviet Political Indoctrination: Developments in Mass Media and Propaganda Since Stalin* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 5.

²²⁵ Chotikul, "The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control," 60.

²²⁶ Cyril E. Black, "Marxism and Modernization," in *Slavic Review* 29, no. 2 (1970): 183.

Man finds it easiest to accept the things that seem immutable...”²²⁷ This suggests that the Soviets’ constant emphasis on their “heroic” and victorious past also served to bias individuals to assume past success was highly indicative of future performance.

e. Threat

Erik Hoffman in his dissertation on the Soviet Union notes that “terror is a means for institutionalizing and channeling anxiety.”²²⁸ The Soviet state used its propaganda to heighten their citizens’ pre-existing xenophobia, which Chotikul attributes to a rich history of devastating foreign incursions, to drive their desire and demand for the State to protect them. Out of this manipulated fear arose a broadly shared cultural tendency for “hyper-vigilance and suspiciousness.”²²⁹ This allowed the State to polarize the population, who saw the world in terms of good versus evil, “making” people choose to identify themselves wholly with either the State (good) or anything not endorsed by the State (evil).²³⁰

Because the Soviet State understood that control measures and human nature would be at continual odds, generating significant internal dissonance, it employed RC to induce the population to transfer its anxiety *cum* anger toward an external threat and away from the State. “The major task for the leaders of the regime is therefore to effect a transfer of the ‘we-they’ dichotomy...onto external others.”²³¹ This projection further reinforced the perceived danger posed by the external threat, which in turn heightened the population’s desire for the State to protect them. This gave the Soviets increased latitude to impose further restrictions on freedoms without suffering the “natural” consequence of psycho-reactance. Using propaganda to highlight the evil of the threat, the good of the State, and the inevitability of State victory represents the key

²²⁷ Klaus Mehnert, *Soviet Man and His World* (New York: Praeger, 1962), 197.

²²⁸ Erik P. Hoffman, *Ideological Administration in the Soviet Union, 1959–1963*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Government, Indiana University, (1966): 234; quoted from “Ideological Commissions of Party Committees,” in *Politcheskoye Samoobrazovaniye* 5 (1964): 80.

²²⁹ Chotikul, “The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control,” 49.

²³⁰ Hollander et al., *Soviet Political Indoctrination*, 10.

²³¹ Chotikul, “The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control,” 57.

psychological hurdles to obtaining and maintaining popular support. This is the essence of Maurice Tugwell's mobilizing trinity,²³² which describes that "governments and their peoples, or revolutionaries and their followers, fight or resist so long as three essential beliefs are held...a belief in something good to be promoted or defended...a belief in something evil to be destroyed or resisted...and third, a belief in the ultimate victory of the good cause."²³³

f. Feedback and Repetition

Chotikul's research on Soviet RC reveals several additional principles of relevance to this thesis. She mentions that the Soviet leadership found that the requirement for feedback about control efforts did not seem to be required for RC.²³⁴ This could be because RC operates by inducing the target to self-conclude, implying that the influencing message has been received, evaluated, accepted, and internalized. The literature on internalization suggests that once a judgment is internalized (incorporated into the person's belief system) it is highly resistant to normal change forces; therefore it requires less or no further reinforcement of its credibility.²³⁵

Chotikul also offers a valuable insight into the Soviets' use of repetition. To counter the audience's ability to accurately reflect, or to correctly see the intent behind the RC propaganda, Soviet indoctrination ideology sought repetition through theme redundancy and environment saturation. "It is important to apply non-repeating techniques to prevent the opponent from deducing what means and methods are being applied and thus allowing him the opportunity to develop appropriate countermeasures."²³⁶ The Soviet propaganda campaign achieved the psychological

²³² Maurice Tugwell, "Terrorism as a Psychological Strategy," in *Psychological Operations and Warfare in Longterm Strategic Planning* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990), 70.

²³³ Bryan M. Pickett and Charles M. Lingenfelter, "Influence Strategy: Principles and Levels of Analysis," (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2011), 13.

²³⁴ Chotikul, "The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control," 81.

²³⁵ Herbert C Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization: Three Processes of Attitude Change," in *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 1 (1958): 51.

²³⁶ Chotikul, "The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control,"

benefits of repetition by ensuring messages were simple, consistent, and transmitted constantly in varied form and by varied sources.²³⁷

2. Indoctrination Propaganda

Maintaining formal governmental control (amounting to a governance transaction cost) over every aspect of a citizen's life is neither efficient nor feasible. Functioning societies depend on a wide array of informal and socially enforced mechanisms to govern the preponderance of day to day behaviors.²³⁸ A casual review of the Soviet indoctrination literature reveals a major effort to convey which norms and values were "good," which not coincidentally were those most susceptible to compliance efforts, and would encourage peer-to-peer policing of behavior. To this end, Soviet "propaganda was called upon to embrace every aspect of social life and every social group and region and to reach every individual."²³⁹

a. Role Play

The glorification of the past and its heroes offers a particularly powerful means to influence present and future behavior. The past exists at the behest of the physical documentation that codifies it. The Soviet State established complete control over the literature produced by all formal institutions.²⁴⁰ This permitted them to tweak history in ways that reinforced the indoctrination messaging necessary for control. The State glorified the revolutionary and WWII generations as models for current society. Historical accounts were further adjusted to emphasize specific values and norms, particularly those which would be most conducive to maintaining regime control, such as

²³⁷ Gouré, *The Military Indoctrination of Soviet Youth*, 27, 29, 56.

²³⁸ Francis Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 18. ; See also, James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," in *American Journal of Sociology* 94, Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure (1988), S95–S120.

²³⁹ Herbert Romerstein, "Soviet Active Measures and Propaganda: 'New Thinking' and Influence Activities in the Gorbachev Era," in *Psychological Operations and Political Warfare in Long-term Strategic Planning*, ed. Janos Radvanyi (New York: Praeger, 1990), 37.

²⁴⁰ Hollander et al., *Soviet Political Indoctrination*, xvii.

unquestioned obedience to authority and subservience to the greater group.²⁴¹ This biased rendering allowed the Soviets to leverage people's already polarized minds to view things as either all good or all bad. By glorifying the desired "good" values, the State would also be able to vilify all other behaviors, opinions, and personal beliefs, specifically those that were counterproductive to control efforts.²⁴² Through this technique, the Soviets pre-set their society's social "models" and created universal (country-wide) norms of appropriate behavior, which each citizen had an obligation to enforce in others.

b. Participation

Active participation is a tool for building behavioral habits and triggering cognitive consistency pressures. In the Soviet control ideology, forced active participation provided increased opportunities for social judgment and self-reflection, all of which drove compliance, then identification. "It is imperative to go through the motions of enthusiasm and loyalty...the assumption, which is by no means a naïve one, is that the individual playing the role of good citizen will eventually come to think and feel like one."²⁴³

The Soviets believed in the power of cognitive dissonance: individuals would feel driven to rectify their identity and beliefs with their actions.²⁴⁴ Dissonance becomes increasingly motivating as the individual values the opinion of his valued social community. Using the example of Soviet compulsory military service, Gouré writes that "the conscript's service record is brought to the attention of his family, friends, and coworkers, administrative superiors...so that he risks public censure...if he fails to perform his military duty in an 'exemplary fashion.'"²⁴⁵ Because his social group values

²⁴¹ Gouré, *The Military Indoctrination of Soviet Youth*, 2.

²⁴² Ibid., 9.

²⁴³ Carl I. Hovland, Irving L. Janis, and Harold H. Kelley, *Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change* (New Haven, CT: Yale Press, 1953), 215.

²⁴⁴ Chotikul, "The Soviet Theory of Reflexive Control," 59.

²⁴⁵ Gouré, *The Military Indoctrination of Soviet Youth*, 55.

his ideal identity as a soldier, the recruit feels pressure to perform and receives positive reinforcement for upholding that identity.

Another major participation technique is the use of self-criticism in peer discussion groups. The psychological tendency to yield to majority opinion and to identify with the majority's key traits leads the individual to conclude that his behaviors (which happen to be those desired by the State) are credible. "One must constantly prove devotion and commitment or become suspect of some deviation or conspiracy."²⁴⁶ Vocalizing his sins and promises in a public forum pressures the individual to remain consistent with his word and leads to a state of greater internal reflection; both should elevate the effect of cognitive dissonance.

c. Obligation

Propaganda glorifying the revolutionary heroes had a second order benefit for the Soviets' control program. By exaggerating contributions and sacrifices made in the past, leaders were able to inculcate a sense of tremendous debt owed to the State, via its idealized founders. "The indoctrination reminds young people that they owe their present advantages and security to the successful struggle of the older generation."²⁴⁷ This sense of debt activated the universal principle of reciprocity, cognitively prompting the population to continually attempt to repay in full. The State artfully used its messaging to suggest productive ways that the individual could pay back the debt, through conformity or increased production, for example.

Communism in general, constantly advocated for the collective, suggesting to the individual that he was also eternally indebted to the broader social membership. "The emphasis in Marxism-Leninism is on the individual in the capacity as a member of a collective, one who derives important benefits from that membership and who owes certain centrally defined obligations to it."²⁴⁸ The role of propaganda here is to

²⁴⁶ Hollander et al., *Soviet Political Indoctrination*, 10

²⁴⁷ Gouré, *The Military Indoctrination of Soviet Youth*, 25

²⁴⁸ Hollander et al., *Soviet Political Indoctrination*, 4.

advise the individual about the “best” ways to reciprocate the collective’s gifts to him, while simultaneously implying that new debts are ever accumulating.

d. *Personalization*

The more a role model’s actions have in common with your looks, circumstances, and experiences the easier it is to accept them. To increase the effectiveness of state-sponsored models to achieve *identification*, or the voluntary adoption of the model’s behaviors and some supporting beliefs, the Soviets encouraged local groups to develop local heroes. “Lenin’s early realization of the importance of using concrete examples from local conditions has contributed greatly to the Bolshevik agitator’s ability to make his message meaningful to his audience.”²⁴⁹ Complementing this effort, Stalin created the “Hero of the Soviet Union” award program, which identified and elevated Soviet citizens from all walks of life and from all corners of the empire.²⁵⁰ During World War II, the program awarded more than 11,500 citizens, creating an ample hero-base from which any locality could find a relatable suitable model. Of course, the back story on the character and actions of these heroes was State-sanitized so as to reinforce the norms of desired “correct” citizen behavior.

C. *MILITARY PROPAGANDA*

With the World Wars (the second more so than the first), governments found it increasingly important to obtain extended commitment, resources, and political support from their populations in order to fully prosecute the war effort. The governments did so by employing persuasive messaging, or propaganda, to rally popular support and increase tolerance for increased control and hardships. “The control of home opinion was a fundamental requirement of war propaganda because a favorable public opinion is a

²⁴⁹ Gouré, *The Military Indoctrination of Soviet Youth*, 24.

²⁵⁰ John McCannon, “Positive Heroes at the Pole: Celebrity Status, Socialist-Realist Ideals and the Soviet Myth of the Arctic, 1932–39,” in *Russian Review* 56, no. 3 (1997), 346–365.

prerequisite to the successful prosecution of a modern war, which is waged not only on the land, air, and sea fronts, but also on the economic and moral fronts.”²⁵¹

Harold Lasswell, one of the founders of modern social psychology, examined the Great War from a marketing perspective. He reviewed what the involved nations did to successfully sell their war aims and policies to the domestic, allied, enemy, and neutral populations. He came up with six common principles for successful propaganda.

Lasswell’s Six Common Principles of War Propaganda²⁵²

- 1) Transfer war guilt to the enemy.
- 2) Claim inevitable victory, justified by history and God.
- 3) Make and reiterate one’s war aims, simply and clearly.
- 4) Highlight the enemy’s depravity to aid belief of his culpability.
- 5) Attack the credibility of the enemy’s messages.
- 6) Promote the enemy’s atrocities.

Lord Ponsonby, a member of British parliament, adamantly spoke against the use of war propaganda as antithetical to the essential trust between a people and its representative government. As he put it, “When war is declared, truth is the first causality.”²⁵³ Following the Great War, Ponsonby published *Falsehood in War-Time: Propaganda Lies of the First World War* to educate and defend future populations against the most common and powerful persuasive themes of state-sponsored pro-conflict propaganda. He cites 26 principles, which subsume the six identified by Lasswell.²⁵⁴

1. Elementary Principles of War Propaganda

Ponsonby’s work was recently resurrected by Belgian historian, Anne Morelli, who matched his conclusions against a range of subsequent conflicts. In her book, *Elementary Principles of War Propaganda*, she argues that there are 10 governing

²⁵¹ Ralph Haswell Lutz, “Studies of World War Propaganda, 1914–1933,” in *Journal of Modern History* 5, no. 4 (1933): 497.

²⁵² Edward Bernays, “The Marketing of National Policies: A Study of War Propaganda,” in *Journal of Marketing* 6, no. 3 (1942): 236. These principles are paraphrased.

²⁵³ Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in War Time: Propaganda Lies of the First World War*, (New York, E.P. Dutton & Company, 1928), 11. Accessed 22 January 2013, <http://www.vlib.us/www/resources/archives/texts/t050824i/ponsonby.html>.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 192.

principles of domestic war propaganda that have continued to be universally pursued by States.

Morelli's 10 Elementary Principles of War Propaganda²⁵⁵

- 1) We do not want war.
- 2) The opposite side has the responsibility for this war.
- 3) The enemy has the face of the devil.
- 4) We defend a noble cause, not our own interests.
- 5) The enemy commits cruelties knowingly; our mishaps are involuntary.
- 6) The enemy uses forbidden weapons.
- 7) We suffer small losses; the enemy suffers big ones.
- 8) Artists and intellectuals back our cause.
- 9) Our cause is sacred.
- 10) Those who question our statements are traitors.

If her findings on “universal” and persistent are accurate, this suggests that the principles can be used for belief shifts and achieving desired behavior. This thesis is therefore interested in the psycho-social principle(s) that could support and explain the effectiveness of these themes.²⁵⁶

War can be noble. A noble cause is one that invokes a virtuous responsibility to pursue and protect ideals over self-interests. Morelli's fourth principle ties into the principle of reciprocity, leading the individual to accept an undefined honorable obligation (debt) to ensure the cause's success. As the debt can never be paid in full, the enduring dissonance would keep the individual striving to find ever greater ways to reciprocate.

War can be righteous. Accepting that a cause is noble also implies that the “righteous” majority shares this truth; this would tap the power behind the principle of social proof. Morelli's eighth principle creates powerful “expert” opinion. It takes those in society who are viewed as anti-conflict and places them in support of war; this uses the

²⁵⁵ Anne Morelli, *Principi Elementari della Propaganda di Guerra: Utilizzabili in Caso di Guerra Fredda, Calda o Tiepida* (Bologna, Italy: Ediesse, 2005). English translation of her principles, accessed 22 January 2013, at <http://able2know.org/topic/5355-1>; cross referenced at <http://www.revleft.com/vb/ten-commandments-war-t52907/index.html?s=4b641ee7f6477e66b490c0110200518e&>, which is a translation of a Dutch summary at <http://aidanederland.nl/projecten/seizoen-2001-2003/duizen-bommen-en-granaten/de-tien-geboden-van-de-oorlogspropaganda>.

²⁵⁶ Refer to Chart 1, Chapter II.

anchoring heuristic to manipulate the perceived weight of these “dissident” experts’ opinions.

War can be costly. The persuader must convince the audience that the perceived benefits outweigh the perceived costs. Morelli’s first, second, and sixth principles trigger the scarcity principle by hinting that the “enemy” is limiting one’s freedoms. Similarly, these same themes could convince the audience that the equilibrium has already been broken, causing the individual to concede to efforts that would eliminate the disturbance and restore the status quo.

War can be an aberration. War erodes predictability of behavior. Morelli’s second and fifth principle activate the principle of consistency because they suggest that the enemy is both erratic and a threat to stability. This should generate a psychological pressure to restore environmental consistency, to correct the enemy’s wrongs and forcibly prevent him from producing future inconsistencies.

War can be defining. One side is good, therefore the other side has to be evil. The third and fifth principles utilize the principle of liking, but more specifically the phenomena of priming and association; they prejudice the audience against the other side. Morelli’s tenth principle sets up the simple dichotomy that you must choose between being totally committed for or against the enemy. Faced with the risk of social rejection and real punishment, the individual should be inclined to want to provide unquestioned support. To further emphasize the costs of non-compliance, the ninth principle incorporates moral condemnation to reduce introspective questioning about the efforts of the establishment.

2. WWII: Germany

The duration, variation, and nature of conflict compromising WWII created the ideal incentives and opportunities for nations to engineer and refine by fire their instruments of propaganda. The advancement of communications technology since the First World War opened up a significant and relatively efficient conduit for governments

to deliver more constant persuasive content directly to their citizens.²⁵⁷ Although each country developed distinct themes per their respective war aims, the literature suggests several common conclusions as to the techniques and principles that best influenced an audience to comply with behavioral requests.

Hitler appointed Joseph Goebbels as the Reich's grand strategist of propaganda. Goebbels created a department for every major form of communication, including artistic expression, and charged each with censoring and promoting content to best mobilize and control the population. Henry Cantril, the president of the U.S. Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1939, hypothesized that Goebbels had one governing propaganda principle, which was "to see with the eyes of the masses."²⁵⁸ This accords with the now generally accepted propaganda tenet, "know thy audience."

The literature on German propaganda generally supports Morelli's propaganda conclusions. Leonard Doob in *Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda* suggests that Goebbels' overarching rule was actually more means-focused; "all [propaganda] media must be employed simultaneously."²⁵⁹ Goebbels realized he could never know a target sufficiently enough to be absolutely sure that any one particular message format would catch the target's attention and induce a change. Therefore, it was best to saturate the target audience with a simple repeated theme, conveyed by multiple reinforcing mediums. Let us now look more closely at six governing psychological principles that underlie Goebbels' dominant propaganda efforts.

a. Attention: Goebbels' Sixth Principle

The target's interest must first be piqued and then sustained, but in a way that does not stimulate overly critical analysis of the message content. "Some kind of bait was devised to attract and hold an audience."²⁶⁰ Germany's domestic use of film

²⁵⁷ Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era*, 3rd edition (New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 208–211.

²⁵⁸ Hadley Cantril, "Propaganda Analysis," in *The English Journal* 27, no. 3 (1938): 218.

²⁵⁹ Leonard W. Doob, "Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda," in *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1950): 428.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 427.

provided the lure of entertainment while securing lengthy and habitual attention. One of the most effective examples is the 1935 Nazi propaganda masterpiece, *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the Will), created and directed by Leni Riefenstahl. “What at first glance may appear just picturesque photography –dramatic angles, buildings seen through mist, silhouettes against the sky –on closer examination turns out to be a truly fantastic ‘point of view’ most subtly imposed upon the material.”²⁶¹ This indirect approach helped to reduce the audience’s most common coping mechanisms, such as psycho-reactance and anxiety avoidance. Goebbels believed that movies could “subtly affect the attentive audience not through particular passages but by the general atmosphere.”²⁶² Film newsreels were constructed not to convince by facts; “they were impressionist, emotive, all-conquering – a blitz in themselves of sound and image.”²⁶³ Entertainment is cathartic and therefore highly desired. It increases the motivation to remain attentive and exposed to the message, and to be more tolerant of incongruences.

Suggesting that information is scarce or special increases attention and message credibility. Goebbels selectively issued “special announcements,” breaking into radio programs, film shows, and publicly posting “urgent” notices. The principle of scarcity leads the recipient to perceive the information to be of higher value and credibility and also implies a sense of privileged status for being “allowed” in on the secret. For Germany’s propaganda, these layered cognitive biases increased the audience’s desire to listen and then accept the content’s “truth.”²⁶⁴ Goebbels understood this principle had limitations; he knew not to “resort to this device too frequently, lest it lose its unusual character.”²⁶⁵ A sense of uniqueness is critical to stimulating the scarcity principle.

²⁶¹ Ken Kelman, “Propaganda as Vision: Triumph of the Will,” in *Film Culture* 56 (1973), accessed 20 February 2013, <http://129.11.76.45/papers/pmt/exhibits/1436/kelman.pdf>.

²⁶² Doob, “Goebbels’ Principles of Propaganda,” 427.

²⁶³ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, 244.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 247.

²⁶⁵ Doob, “Goebbels’ Principles of Propaganda,” 428.

b. *Anxiety: Goebbels' Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Principles*

A target's anxiety level can be manipulated to increase or decrease his susceptibility to persuasive messaging. Goebbels recognized that "too much anxiety could produce panic and demoralization, too little could lead to complacency and inactivity."²⁶⁶ He employed propaganda to maintain an optimum level of anxiety, high enough to preclude complacency but low enough to avoid demoralization. Goebbels used fear to stimulate the basic survival instincts of its people; if the Reich falls, the enemy will come for you.²⁶⁷ "The German people must remain convinced ...that this war strikes at their very lives."²⁶⁸ Allowing members of the audience to connect the dots between support for the war and survival would stimulate them to internalize the propaganda message, generating more enduring behavioral compliance.

Suggesting a way to restore equilibrium (elimination of anxiety), motivates an anxious audience to be more receptive to that persuasive message. One of Goebbels' most repeated simple themes was that war success would restore Germany to its rightful state, its owed state of equilibrium. The war was "designed to redress the injustice of the 1919 Versailles Settlement."²⁶⁹ This type of propaganda follows Morelli's second principle, *the opposite side has the responsibility for this war*, but it complements the influence effort by also offering the "best" way to accomplish the goal.

c. *Credibility: Goebbels' Seventh, Eleventh, and Twelfth Principles*

Bits of true information positively reinforce the rest of the message, which may be far from true. However, an uncovered falsehood can significantly degrade the credibility of the source and his subsequent messages. Goebbels felt that white propaganda could not succeed if its credibility was ever marred, but that "the secret of

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 438.

²⁶⁷ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, 248.

²⁶⁸ Doob, "Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda," 438.

²⁶⁹ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, 243.

propaganda is to tell the truth in the appropriate form.”²⁷⁰ To him, this meant still using lies, but only when they could not be disproved.²⁷¹ It also meant employing partial truths to improve the credibility of “word of mouth” propaganda (non-official attribution). Goebbels employed “false” British radio stations to bypass the British people’s natural incredulity about any German source. Injecting bits of collected battlefield intelligence and detainee interrogations, his team crafted propaganda rumors about such things as the existence of German 5th column operating on British soil.²⁷² Author Julius Yourman examined the propaganda techniques across “seven common propaganda devices.” The device of *card stacking* is the purposeful underemphasis or overemphasis of information to prejudice the audience’s perception.²⁷³ This well summarizes Goebbels strategic economy of truth.

Source credibility can be purposely constructed or destroyed. Just like the Soviets, the Germans knew the power authority figures and heroes had to sway public opinion. Across all levels, “Nazi ideology stressed the importance of leadership.”²⁷⁴ However, with the urgency of the war, the Reich did not have the time for their leaders’ prestige to grow “naturally.” One of Goebbels’ main propaganda efforts was to create the Führer legend of absolute credibility and infallibility (*Führer-prinzip*). This allowed Goebbels to invoke Hitler’s name symbolically in persuasive requests for behavioral compliance.²⁷⁵ Yourman categorizes the deliberate crafting of Hitler as ultimate subject matter expert under the *testimonial* device. The Germans came to believe and behave, at least during the war’s early years, that “no authority and no adjustment which does not follow from or accord with his can be right.”²⁷⁶

²⁷⁰ Hans Herma, “Goebbels’ Conception of Propaganda,” in *Social Research* 10, no. 2 (1943): 200.

²⁷¹ Doob, “Goebbels’ Principles of Propaganda,” 428.

²⁷² David Owen, *Battle of Wits: A History of Psychology & Deception in Modern Warfare* (Traverse City, MI: Cooper, 1978), 70.

²⁷³ Julius Yourman, “Propaganda Techniques Within Nazi Germany,” in *Journal of Educational Sociology* 13, no. 3 (1939): 156.

²⁷⁴ Doob, “Goebbels’ Principles of Propaganda,” 434.

²⁷⁵ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, 242.

²⁷⁶ Yourman, “Propaganda Techniques Within Nazi Germany,” 153.

Propaganda works best the more tailored it is to the intended audience; similarity imparts credibility. Yourman remarks on Germany's use of the device *plain folks*, which follows the principle of likeness; an individual is more apt to trust someone who seems like them. He relates the extensive efforts by Hitler's propaganda machine to emphasize his humility and lowly origins. To the Germans, he was always portrayed as a "man of the people meeting plain folks in their ordinary walks of life, enjoying with them their simple work and pleasures."²⁷⁷ In this same vein, Goebbels knew the value of localized intelligence.²⁷⁸ If a message was not sufficiently tailored to its audience, it would likely create unintended consequences.

d. Symbol Manipulation: Goebbels Fourteenth Principle

Powerful reactions to learned or existing symbols and words can be deliberately associated with other behaviors, symbols, and words to elicit similar predictable reactions. Goebbels recognized that "words could [link] people and events, and that their reaction to the latter could be potently affected by the former."²⁷⁹ He seemed to grasp the importance of simplification in the cognitive process of learning. His propaganda used short and concise Orwellian themes to aid their retention. One example is Rudolph Hess' rally chant, "The Party is Hitler. Hitler is Germany and Germany is Hitler."²⁸⁰ Yourman saw use of this same potent *transfer* device in German propaganda that linked the qualities and story of Jesus Christ with that of Hitler's rise. "Nazi leaders have had great success in capturing religious feeling and in establishing Hitler as a divinity..."²⁸¹

Stereotyping can prime our future associations with similar behaviors, symbols, and words. Infamously, the most successful German stereotyping campaign was that of the Jewish race as the greatest existential threat to the German nation. "Nazi

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 154.

²⁷⁸ Doob, "Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda," 422.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 436.

²⁸⁰ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, 243.

²⁸¹ Yourman, "Propaganda Techniques Within Nazi Germany," 151.

propagandists supercharge words with feeling and emotion in order to give them greater force in *name calling*.”²⁸² Once primed, the individual is more likely to perpetuate that association internally until something significant proves it wrong.

e. Timing and Frequency: Goebbels’ Thirteenth Principle

The audience gives preferential consideration to the “version” people hear first. What this recognizes is that propaganda is in competition with other sources of influence for the attention and compliance of the individual. Goebbels states this clearly; “whoever speaks the first word to the world [on the subject] is always right.”²⁸³ Initial information sets the anchor point for subsequent “compare and contrast” evaluations. Additionally, the first information has “home field” advantage; subsequent messages have to be proportionately more credible to discount or uproot the first message.

Repetition is critical to learning, but there is a point of diminishing returns. To Goebbels, repetition was necessary to reinforce learning, but it was more the repetition of theme rather than rote verse. However, he did acknowledge that the traction of symbolic words and phrases came from their significant repetition and pervasive use.²⁸⁴ “Propaganda must be repeated until it was thoroughly learned,” but would suffer decreased effectiveness and be “undesirable when the theme became boring or unimpressive.”²⁸⁵ This does not necessarily suggest a contradiction, only that monitoring of the target’s mood may indicate when a repeated message serves to irritate, becoming counter-productive to the persuasive goal.

f. Prevailing Current: Goebbels’ First and Last Principles

People look to their surroundings for reassurance that what they are doing is the correct thing to do. Goebbels was slowly uncovering the power of social proof.

²⁸² Ibid., 149.

²⁸³ Doob, “Goebbels’ Principles of Propaganda,” 435.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 437.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 435.

“Propaganda cannot immediately affect strong counter-tendencies.”²⁸⁶ In most of his principles he acknowledges the need for propaganda strategies that coopt, rather than confront and destroy, existing tendencies. People are less on guard mentally against the familiar.

Unifying symbols can create a strong current to induce behavioral conformity. Yourman sees the *bandwagon* device being used in German propaganda activity. Unity was to be demonstrated by fervent participation in patriotic demonstrations. “Germans were compelled to preserve external appearances and to cooperate with the war effort, regardless of their internal feelings.” For Hitler, “the crowd was brutal, violent, emotional, corrupt, and corruptible.”²⁸⁷ Using instigators, the Reich signaled the correctness of desired behavior and belief changes. Once a sufficient part of the population exhibited the desired behavior, its social proof strength became exponentially reinforcing. This suggests that employing a quantity of specifically characterized “instigators” could stimulate the majority to adopt and then self-police those desired behaviors.

3. U.S. Military PSYOP

Like the Soviet Union and Germany, the United States rapidly formed its modern concepts of propaganda during the lengthy campaigns of the Second World War.²⁸⁸ However, unlike the Soviet Union, the U.S. has had to contend with the countervailing ethical and moral convictions of its public.²⁸⁹ This does not necessarily negate the U.S. military’s perspectives on propaganda. But, it does raise the question of whether the military has missed identifying more effective tactics, techniques, and principles because they reside outside the current moral and ethical acceptable conventions. With this in

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 440.

²⁸⁷ Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind*, 241.

²⁸⁸ Frank Goldstein and Daniel Jacobowitz, “Psychological Operations: An Introduction,” in *Psychological Operations: Principles and Case Studies*, ed. Frank Goldstein and Benjamin F. Findley, Jr. (Maxwell AFB, AL: Air University Press, 1996), 13.

²⁸⁹ Richard G. Stilwell, “Political-Psychological Dimensions of Counterinsurgency,” in *Psychological Operations: Principles and Case Studies*, ed. Frank Goldstein (Maxwell AFB: Air University Press, 1986), 321.

mind, I now turn to modern U.S. Military Psychological Operations' (PSYOP) doctrine and various professional critiques to identify core psychological principles of influence and what they suggest for achieving enduring effects.

The manual, FM 3–05.301, *Psychological Operations Process: Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures*, represents the U.S. Army's internal guide to planning and conducting effective psychological operations (including propaganda). It claims to represent a willing incorporation of “proven” best practices from the relevant scientific and academic fields.²⁹⁰ A review of the manual does raise a basic concern about its philosophy on persuading behavioral change.

The general tone throughout the manual's second chapter suggests that individuals actively and predominately calculate costs and benefits when deciding how to behave. This reflects a somewhat classic behaviorist approach. However, my review of the psychology literature for this thesis strongly suggests that most of a person's day to day decisions are based on heuristics, not deliberate systematic calculations. Although the FM includes lengthy lists of effective persuasive appeals, techniques, and tactics, which suggests recognition of heuristics' influence, the mechanics of PSYOP target analysis still reflect a heavy reliance on a rationally calculating individual.²⁹¹ In the Department of Defense's 2005 contracted external review of U.S. Army PSYOP, *Review of Psychological Operations Lessons Learned from Recent Operational Experience*, this same point is raised. In accord with one of the influence industry's best practices, *create and engage in communities*, Christopher Lamb recommends that PSYOP should shift from a focus on self-interest motivation to leveraging group identities and the need to belong.²⁹² I do not believe this issue discredits the PSYOP manual's conclusions on dominant heuristics, but instead points to the need to further reconcile PSYOP approaches with advances in social sciences and marketing.

²⁹⁰ U.S. Army, *FM 3–05.301 Psychological Operations Process: Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures* (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of Army, August 2007), vii.

²⁹¹ U.S. Army, *FM 3–05.301*, 2–1 through 2–32.

²⁹² Christopher J. Lamb, *Review of Psychological Operations Lessons Learned from Recent Operational Experience* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 2005), 32. Accessed 30 January 2013, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a445151.pdf>.

Indeed, the FM's second chapter identifies six psychological principles of influence that are thought to most affect persuasive effectiveness across "virtually any culture." These six principles are specifically those proposed by Dr. Robert Cialdini: reciprocity, commitment and consistency, social proof, liking, authority, and scarcity.²⁹³ Accepting for the moment the military's endorsement of these six principles, a wider review of the manual's persuasive argument, construction methodology, and various academic critiques of U.S. PSYOP highlights four additional topics that could also contribute to effectiveness and durability.

a. Priming and Framing

In the same section with psychological principles, the FM lists the most employed (thus assumed most effective) PSYOP persuasive appeals. An appeal is the mood or setting that influences an individual's frame of reference during the follow-on persuasive request.²⁹⁴ Mood and priming, as indicated in Chapter II of this thesis, significantly influence behavioral compliance by biasing subsequent perception. The PSYOP manual's attention to appeals supports the idea that pre-conditioning a target significantly affects his "receptibility" and susceptibility to persuasive arguments. In "A Critical Analysis of U.S. PSYOP," Philip Katz states that propaganda "should seek to create an atmosphere of favorable preliminary attitudes."²⁹⁵ Daniel Lerner, in "Effective Propaganda: Conditions and Evaluations," is more specific and notes that "predispositions define the limits within which audiences can be effectively persuaded to modify their expectations."²⁹⁶

In other words, propaganda helps to strengthen or create a basis for the individual to more "favorably" judge the behavioral request. My literature review so far

²⁹³ U.S. Army, *FM 3-05.301*, 2-28

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2-25.

²⁹⁵ Philip P. Katz, Ronald D. McLaurin, and Preston S. Abbot, "A Critical Analysis of U.S. PSYOP," in *Psychological Operations: Principles and Case Studies*, eds. F.L. Goldstein and B.F. Findley (Maxwell AFB, Ala.: Air University Press, 1996), 135.

²⁹⁶ Daniel Lerner, "Effective Propaganda: Conditions and Evaluations," in *Propaganda in War and Crisis*, (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 347.

has suggested that persuasive requests work better when they coopt the individual's existing tendencies and capabilities. After the attacks on 9/11, the American public was emotional, anxious, and ripe for influence. By framing the enemy as belonging to the "access of evil," and framing the solution as a "global war on terror," the U.S. government increased America's automatic negative association made to anyone or any effort attached to the pejoratives.²⁹⁷ Lamb notes that "a message that seems close to the audience's core beliefs is more likely to be adopted than one that does not."²⁹⁸ Although speaking on the topic of deception operations, Richards Heuer comes to a similar conclusion; "it is far easier to lead a target astray by reinforcing the target's existing beliefs."²⁹⁹ This suggests that when there is no strong existing tendency that coincides with a desired behavioral request, emotional and contextual priming can create an illusory substitute in the individual's mind.

b. Credibility and Truth

It is generally agreed that credibility is the cornerstone of message influence potential and that a reputation for truth is key to credibility. However, as with priming, how one says something, what one says, and what one does not say all generate cues with the potential to influence. The U.S. Military PSYOP manual carefully avoids the concept of judicious use of truth. In its list of the fifteen dominant persuasive techniques, six of Clyde Miller's seven common propaganda devices are included. The missing device is *card stacking*, the use of "overemphasis and underemphasis to put a calculated spin on... ideas or proposals."³⁰⁰ Similarly, Lamb specifically addresses a growing error that assumes truth is the only source of credibility that matters. Credibility assigned to people because of their attractiveness or expert-authority counters this

²⁹⁷ Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, "The Revival of the Propaganda State: U.S. Propaganda at Home and Abroad since 9/11," in *International Communication Gazette* 68, no. 5–6 (2006): 389–407.

²⁹⁸ Lamb, *Review of Psychological Operations*, 34.

²⁹⁹ Richards J. Heuer, "Strategic Deception and Counterdeception," in *International Studies Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (1981): 298.

³⁰⁰ J. Michael Sproule, "Authorship and Origins of the Seven Propaganda Devices: A Research Note," in *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 4, no. 1 (2001): 136.

assumption. Lamb's teams' findings suggest that "a source can be seen as fudging or spinning facts in a self-serving manner and still be seen as quite credible, especially when the message resonates emotionally with the target audience."³⁰¹ In other words, the PSYOP focus on truth is generally sound; however, it may be in danger of becoming an unreasoned absolutism.

A person's expectations significantly influence his perceptions of the present and predictions about the future. Heuer notes that once a pattern of expectation is well-learned, it will "continue to influence perceptions even when we are alerted to and try to take account of the existence of data that do not fit our pre-conceptions."³⁰² Lerner treats manipulation of expectations as a powerful instrument of effective propaganda because it manages the individual's predisposition to the messaging.³⁰³ In line with the earlier discussion on priming and framing, understanding an individual's expectations affords the persuader the opportunity to select and emphasize those parts of the "truth" that are more congruent and impactful, resulting in increased susceptibility to the associated behavioral request.

This discussion raises the interesting prospect of deliberately employing a pattern of small unthreatening "truthful" propaganda merely as a means to pre-establish a reputation for truth-based credibility. This would prepare the individual to better accept a more significant behavioral compliance request later. Lamb would classify this as building brand recognition and banking credibility equity.³⁰⁴

c. Timing

The time between a behavioral request and behavioral reinforcement has a direct effect on continued behavior. "The more immediate the consequences following a

³⁰¹ Lamb, *Review of Psychological Operations*, 40.

³⁰² Richards J. Heuer, "Cognitive Factors in Deception and Counterdeception," in *Strategic Military Deception*, eds. Donald Daniel and Katherine Herbig (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982), 35.

³⁰³ Lerner, "Effective Propaganda," 346.

³⁰⁴ Lamb, *Review of Psychological Operations*, 31.

behavior, the more influence the consequence has on the behavior.”³⁰⁵ FM 3–05.301 teaches two laws of behavior. The first, law of effect, simply notes that reinforced behavior tends to get repeated. The second law, power of immediate gratification, instructs that timely rewards hold more persuasive power than do the promise of long-term gains or consequences.³⁰⁶ The second law thus has profound implications on persuasive arguments that assume man is mostly rational, and willing and able to calculate cost versus benefits when deciding whether to change their behavior.

The “receptibility” and susceptibility of a person to an argument depends greatly on timely application of priming. An individual is more susceptible to influence at certain moments over others.³⁰⁷ This suggests that an important role of propaganda is to prepare the mind of the individual, predispose him to be compliant, and trigger sufficient stimulation at the moment of messaging to gain his attention and convince him there is a need to change.

d. Repetition

Humans look for patterns to simplify complexity; repetition is one way to lead an individual to perceive a “correct” pattern. The PSYOP manual states “repetition and reinforcement of a PSYOP argument are essential to behavior modification.”³⁰⁸ Repetition or frequency of a message can lead to its increased believability. Goebbels is credited with the quote, “if you repeat a lie often enough, it becomes the truth,” which is echoed by the Soviets in their “big lie” strategy. Dana Milbank and Claudia Deane, writing about the U.S.’s initial post-9/11 response connecting Iraq to Al Qaeda, noted that seven in ten Americans still believed two years later that Saddam Hussein was connected

³⁰⁵ U.S. Army, *FM 3–05.301*, 2–13.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 2–13.

³⁰⁷ Lamb, *Review of Psychological Operations*, 42.

³⁰⁸ U.S. Army, *FM 3–05.301*, 2–22.

to the attacks, even though Congress and the Administration had publicly corrected the record.³⁰⁹

To increase the stability of persuaded behavioral changes, propaganda must continue to saturate the individual, trumping competing signals. In his critical analysis of PSYOP, Katz reconfirms that the greatest potential for propaganda to work comes when the individual is surrounded by the message and less able to disconfirm its assertions. “PSYOP is not magic...it consists of successive messages and actions aimed at various emotions or thoughts through many instruments of communication.”³¹⁰

Heuer, addressing deception operations, reveals a cognitive bias that would lend support to the power of repetition. Humans have a natural bias “favoring a small amount of consistent information over a large body of less consistent data.”³¹¹ This suggests that credibility is a competition. Repetition of a theme, from multiple sources, in various manners creates a pattern that may cognitively bias an individual to assign the propaganda increased credibility over various uncoordinated competing messages. Furthermore, adding propaganda actions that discredit the most significant competing messages should increase the contrast in credibility in favor of the simple repeated propaganda message.

D. CHAPTER DISCUSSION

This review has surveyed a broad spectrum of propaganda literature to discern which major principles of influence most affect a person’s likelihood of complying with an explicit or implicit behavior request. There appear to be three essential and sequential conditions to constructing effective persuasive messaging. The first necessary condition is to gain the target’s conscious or unconscious attention. But even before triggering attention, it is advantageous to prime the target’s cognitive atmosphere. A target’s mood

³⁰⁹ Dana Milbank and Claudia Deane, “Hussein Link to 9/11 Lingers in Many Minds,” in *Washington Post* (6 September 2003): A1. Accessed 30 January 2013, http://people.virginia.edu/~jrw3k/mediamatters/readings/iraq_911/Washington.Post_Hussein.Link.to.9.11.Lingers.in.Many.Minds_Dana.Milbank.and.Claudia.Deane_Sept.6.2003.pdf.

³¹⁰ Katz et al., “A Critical Analysis of U.S. PSYOP,” 136.

³¹¹ Heuer, “Strategic Deception and Counterdeception,” 308.

significantly prejudices his subsequent processing of information, including credibility of message sender and message content. How a target's attention is gained also predisposes his receptiveness to the persuasive argument. Activating primal emotions such as hate and fear can effectively gain his attention, but his reactions are harder to predict and control.

Once his attention has been acquired, the second necessary condition is to stimulate the target's belief in the need to change. The individual must be led to accept that his status quo position is no longer correct or sufficient. The literature suggests that this step requires creating and manipulating an individual's sense of anxiety. The individual is most anxious about the "correctness" of his actions and the approval of his valued associations. The social group's rules and values are economically transmitted to its members through its approved symbols (icons, words, role models). This makes symbol manipulation one of the most effective indirect methods to influence the individual's behavior. The literature also argues that propaganda sets cognitive constraints. By taking the offensive, by being the "first" or "loudest," persuasive messaging directs the individual to expend his limited critical capacity within predetermined topical limits.

The third condition is to provide the individual a solution that meets his need. The anxiety-filled individual is trying to return to a state of equilibrium (reduced anxiety). The aim of propaganda is to persuade him to come to a solution that also meets the persuader's objective. This is the heart of reflexive control. The literature broadly argues that propaganda that reinforces aspects of the individual's existing predilections tends to be more effective and enduring. This does not imply that propaganda cannot elicit new "foreign" behaviors, only that to do so it should seek to reinforce incremental adjustments to existing sub-component beliefs and behaviors, which in the aggregate produce a beneficial approximation of the desired behavior.

1. Psycho-social Principles' Sufficiency Assessment

The literature reviewed further supports the sufficiency of the six governing principles of influence proposed by Dr. Cialdini. However, as before, I would like to introduce several recommendations to the original definitions based on key findings. Re-

examining *reciprocity* means addressing the role of higher order symbolic concepts such as nobility, fealty, and honor to persuade an individual to feel intrinsically gratified in his perpetual pursuit of ideal debt repayment. Debt to a heroic past is a powerful use of this technique; the past is malleable and hard to totally disprove. *Reciprocity* should also recognize that the *good cop-bad cop* tactic derives its power not just from the grateful relief of anxiety, but also from the abrupt interruption of the brain's current cognitive focus. This surprise causes the individual to become momentarily disoriented, uncertain of how and what to process, and thus prone to revert to an ambivalent information processing state.

Re-thinking *commitment & consistency* means exploring the power of induced introspection to improve the individual's desire to decrease action-to-identity dissonance. Recent findings on framing can be applied to pre-persuading introspection. For example, stimulating the individual with words and symbols heavily associated with concepts of "goodness" and "honesty" should shift his anchor point for self-evaluation toward the ideal "good." When he is then persuaded to be introspective about his actions, he will perceive a greater discontinuity, one that should be less easy to dismiss. Additionally, according to the literature imagining a behavior increases the likelihood that the individual will select that behavior when viable circumstances arise. Imagining a behavior replicates real participation in that behavior; even better, behavioral consistency pressures build with frequency.

Re-examining *social proof* points to the power of suggested inevitability competing with the influence of majority proof. The literature reveals consistent use of *imminentism* to mobilize audiences. Hoffer in *The True Believer* notes that "fear of the future causes us to lean against and cling to the present, while faith in the future renders us receptive to change."³¹² Propaganda that claims something is inevitable cannot be proven false in the moment. The advantage of belief in fate, for instance, is that it lies in the not disprovable future and suggests futility in resistance. If issued boldly, the message itself hints that the persuader has access to some ultimate inside knowledge.

³¹² Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1951), page 9 in the First Perennial classics edition published 2002.

Along similar lines related to *social proof* is the influence of efficacy. The literature suggests that one of the forces that actively work against change is the inability of the individual or group to conceive that the proposed solution is possible. Simulating that something is not only feasible, but also within the realm of someone's ability should increase the cognitive salience of the solution, increasing its likely and more favorable consideration given future opportunities. Re-thinking *social proof* should also include re-examining the role of social instigators, who can replicate the inertia needed to convince a sufficient minority to adopt and accept a message. Such a minority can seem a sufficiently large group to persuade the lone individual.

Authority, meanwhile, can be influenced by the type of media source used to promote it. The less common access to a specific type of media is, the greater its credibility; a TV broadcast message carries a greater basic credibility than a Xeroxed black and white paper flier.

2. Sustaining Influence

The literature offers some support for my initial hypothesis: social influence efforts that utilize cumulative, small-scale behavioral acts of compliance can generate self-sustaining behaviors that adjust long-term compliance and beliefs. Repetition continues to be cited in connection with effect duration. One "new" suggestion for increased effectiveness is to repeat a simple theme but in various forms to avoid aggravating the individual's intellect through attributable boredom. Another, more interesting facet of repetition is its role in slogan creation. Here the literature concurs that rote repetition is required to create a self-reinforcing symbolic association. Since music is processed differently than words, the literature on music and memory could provide valuable insights into strategies for overcoming the natural resistance to word-based message repetition.³¹³ A final reflection on repetition reinforces that repeating a message coupled with active participation and consideration of the message produces more

³¹³ Aniruddh D. Patel, "Language, Music, Syntax and the Brain," in *Nature Neuroscience* 6, no. 7 (2003): 674–681; see also Robert Jourdain, *Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy: How Music Captures Our Imagination* (New York: William Morrow, 1997).

enduring change than passive receipt of a repeated message alone. Participation cognitively signals commitment to the participant, increasing his likely identification with the persuasive change request.

Role based identities are highly valued by the individual; they denote status. As identities are defined by the greater group, they also instruct the individual about the rectitude of his behavior. The literature suggests that both individuals and groups view certain component characteristics of a role-identity as more immutable than others. This suggests that persuasive arguments that can focus threat or reward against these select characteristics can more assuredly motivate that identity type.

Finally, the literature is generally unanimous that incrementally adjusting and coopting existing symbols, beliefs, and patterned behavior will extend the likely duration of the associated behavior. This reflects, in part, the threshold of credibility: that which is familiar to the individual requires less reconfirmation of credibility. Small adjustments also lessen the individual's ability to detach and gauge the significance of the larger aggregate change. Time itself imparts a sense of credibility. Small adjustments that go unnoticed become normalized. Once they are in the past, they add to the mounting record of performance consistency. In fact, if left too long unchallenged, they become incorporated into the individual's standard of performance, his role responsibility.

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IV. MARKETING PERSPECTIVES

The modern purpose of marketing is to “create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational goals.”³¹⁴ Over time, intense competition and finite consumer consumption has by necessity shifted marketing from a sale-centric to a relationship-centric focus. Over the course of its evolution and refinement, marketing has incorporated and even stimulated psychological advances in understanding human decision-making with the goal of influencing this process. This chapter samples the public relations, academic, and applied marketing literatures to deduce core principles of influence that seem to most affect a person’s likelihood of complying with an explicit or implicit behavior request.

A. PUBLIC RELATIONS

Within the broader scope of marketing, modern public relations (PR) generally claims its focus to be managing the relationship between two entities, where the perceptions each holds of the other provide certain advantages. This is a marked philosophical shift from its earlier 20th century unidirectional focus on “influencing opinion.”³¹⁵

The continued pervasive employment of public relations specialists suggests a proven ability to frame an audience’s perception. This section reviews contributions made by the “father of public relations” Edward Bernays and modern PR literature for insights into how to increase the likelihood of an individual to comply. The findings reveal three broad factors that seem to most determine successful PR: use of the indirect approach, purposeful frame manipulation, and active management of stimulation.

314 Jagdish N. Sheth and Can Usley, "Implications of the Revised Definition of Marketing: From Exchange to Value Creation," in *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 26, no. 2 (2007): 302.

315 W. P. Ehling, “Estimating the Value of Public Relations and Communication to an Organization,” in *Excellence in Public Relations and Communication Management*, eds. J. E. Grunig, D. M. Dozier, W P. Ehling, L. A. Grunig, R C. Repper, and J. White (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc, 1992), 622.

1. Edward Bernays: Father of Public Relations

Even after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, the majority of Americans still adhered to an isolationist ideology. Faced with continued German aggression, and after his reelection in 1916, President Wilson recognized a necessity for U.S. entry into the war. To overcome popular non-interventionist sentiment the Administration employed propaganda specialists, like Edward Bernays, to shift public opinion and induce the public to call for U.S. involvement.³¹⁶ Bernays helped engineer a persuasion campaign that tapped the population's strong emotional ties to the ideals of liberty, equality, and justice to reframe the purpose and urgency for U.S. entry.³¹⁷

Following the war, Bernays was intrigued by the peacetime applications of wartime persuasion principles. In 1920 he established the first U.S. "public relations" office and three years later he taught the first university course on PR, based on his seminal work *Crystallizing Public Opinion*.³¹⁸ Nephew of famed psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, much of Bernays' work reflects a belief that unconscious Freudian desires strongly influence consumer behavior. "Motives are the activation of both conscious and subconscious pressures created by the force of desires."³¹⁹ His second dominant argument is that the nature of a functioning society results in a small number of influential people setting the tastes, ideas, and mindset of the masses.³²⁰ This reinforces the concept that status elites, their opinions and actions, have a significant influence on the majority. Bernays infers that to build the best influence strategy the persuader must

³¹⁶ Refer to James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939).

³¹⁷ Edward Bernays, "Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel: Principles and Recollections," in *The Business History Review* 45, no. 3 (1971): 296–316.

³¹⁸ Reference For Business, "Public Relations," in *Reference for Business, Encyclopedia of Business*, 2nd edition, online, accessed 22 February 2013, <http://www.referenceforbusiness.com/encyclopedia/Pro-Res/Public-Relations.html>.

³¹⁹ Edward Bernays, "The Engineering of Consent," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 250 (1947): 118.

³²⁰ Edward Bernays, *Propaganda. With an Introduction by Mark Crispin Miller* (New York: Ig Publishing, 2005), 37. Originally published, New York: H. Liveright, 1928.

first understand the public's tolerance for change, its influential symbols, and its dominant internal associations.³²¹

a. Indirect Approach

As we have seen in the previous two chapters, influence efforts are more successful when they coopt existing sentiments and tendencies. According to Bernays, the challenge of persuasion is to overcome the individual's natural inertia against change.³²² Several decades prior to the appearance of Kurt Lewin's *Change Theory*, Bernays argued that efforts to persuade are more efficient and effective when they seek to remove resistance to change, rather than just applying energy to force the adoption of a new behavior.³²³ This concept reminds the persuader that there are two options for manipulating the contrast principle; the anchors at both ends can be moved to bias an individual's perspective.

Through sheer volume, source variability, and perceived source independence it is possible to create doubts about cognitive credibility. *Tie-in* is one of the most successful and dominant techniques developed by Bernays and other PR contemporaries following World War I. He understood from his observations during the war that audiences attribute greater message credibility as the number of "independent," but corroborating sources increase, such as with rumors. For example, Bernays relates success at increasing Lucky Strike cigarette sales among women by generating multiple 3rd party signals. Through surveys and interviews, he realized that women's resistance to sales was fashion-based; they disliked the green packaging. He arranged for elite social gala balls with green themes, enlisted leading fashion magazines to feature models in green outfits, and contracted with manufacturers to produce fashion accessories in green. As a result, women received multiple "credible" signals that green brought status, thereby

321 Edward Bernays, "The Marketing of National Policies: A Study of War Propaganda," in *Journal of Marketing* 6, no. 3 (1942): 241.

322 Edward Bernays, "Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and the How," in *American Journal of Sociology* 33, no. 6 (1928): 968.

323 Bernays, *Propaganda*, 77.

indirectly increasing the appeal of purchasing and smoking green-packaged Lucky Strikes.³²⁴ Bernays orchestrated indirect but very convincing *social proof* that green was the new “it” color, leading to self-actualized, but ultimately desired consumption behaviors.

The public tends to attribute a high degree of credibility to publicized polling results and information presented as “news.” Bernays recognized early on that question-based polling results do not reflect how the individual actually behaves or what he truly believes.³²⁵ Because of social pressures and subconscious motives, the individual tends to provide “politically correct” answers, namely those answers appropriate given his role-identity. Ironically, he tends to accept the veracity of polling results in the aggregate, believing that “the verdict of the majority has been given for all time on all the questions answered.”³²⁶ The credibility afforded to polling results in part derives from what Bernays observed about 3rd party vouching. Polling implies that a multitude of disinterested individuals have come to a certain conclusion; their “independent” viewpoint garners increased credibility.

b. Drama

Dramatic signaling acquires the target’s attention and beats out competing signals. For Bernays, dramatizing the issue or product proved to be a most productive strategy. In his campaign to establish demand for a new DoDge car model, Bernays used the indirect approach. He created and advertised a most “dramatic” radio program, featuring live performances by celebrities from five major cities. An estimated 30 million people tuned in. Midway through the show, when the audience’s active defenses were down, the president of DoDge injected a four minute pitch on the virtues of the new six-cylinder DoDge Victory.³²⁷ The following day, show rooms were overflowing with

324 Bernays, “Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel,” 304.

325 Edward Bernays, “Attitude Polls-Servants or Masters?” in *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1945): 268.

326 Ibid., 264.

327 Bernays, *Propaganda*, 101.

people asking to buy the new model.³²⁸ The purpose of drama is to prime the audience to conclude that a change is necessary and urgent.³²⁹ Members of the public believe that they have come to their own conclusion about why they should do (or think) “x,” leading them to internalize their imagined solution, which should result in longer lasting behavioral tendencies.

In line with the effects of drama, information framed as “news” can invoke greater credibility than messages that remain framed as solicitations. Bernays formatted advertisements and product announcements to sound and look like “news” pieces. In his era, official news (newspaper articles, radio broadcasts, and TV news reports) represented a generally unquestioned source of decision-making truth for the public. The selective nature of what comprised each day’s news signaled an accepted authoritarian verdict on which key departures from normal life deserved and required audience attention. Bernays’ cooption of this reflected one of his primary influence principles; “the engineer of consent must create news... [something that] juts out of the pattern of routine.”³³⁰ Competing and winning a target’s attention is the first necessary hurdle to influencing for specific compliance.

c. Symbolic Associations

Creating an association to existing powerful symbols reframes the individual’s assessment of the persuasive appeal in terms of that symbol, which already exists in his culture. Symbols are judgment heuristics, serving as “shortcuts to our understanding of goals.”³³¹ As simple representations, coopted symbols establish a commonality between a “foreign” appeal and existing beliefs and behaviors.³³² Bernays champions this technique of changing clichés to change beliefs and behaviors. He relates

328 Bernays, “Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel,” 306.

329 Bernays, *Propaganda*, 121.

330 Bernays, “The Engineering of Consent,” 119.

331 Bernays, “The Marketing of National Policies: A Study of War Propaganda,” in *Journal of Marketing* 6, no. 3 (1942): 240.

332 Bernays, “The Engineering of Consent,” 118.

how, during the war, the British population criticized the inadequate level of medical care available at the “evacuation hospitals.” The bulk of the criticism was eliminated when the government changed the name to “evacuation posts,” a term mentally associated with decreased medical-care expectations.³³³ Semantics are important; words are symbols in and of themselves, conveying emotion and carrying inherent expectations. This suggests that it is more efficient and potentially more effective to “sell” persuasive appeals coopting accepted popular symbols, slogans, or mottos.

d. Opinion Leaders

If you can influence the key social leaders of a group, you can influence the group. Bernays makes the insightful comment that the “invisible, intertwining structure of groupings and associations is the mechanism by which democracy has organized its group mind and simplified its mass thinking.”³³⁴ It is expensive and laborious to apply sufficient persuasive messaging directly to each and every prospective “consumer” to secure a desired behavior change. Because status leaders serve as confirmation role models for the individual, it can be more efficient and effective to focus limited time and resources on coopting them. For example, Bernays relates his method of stimulating Jewish-American use of vegetable shortening. Instead of focusing the commercial campaign directly at the average Jewish consumer, he leveraged the *authority* principle by securing and then promoting the product’s endorsement by their key religious leaders.³³⁵ Along similar lines, Bernays recognized the value of identifying and activating smaller cross-cutting groups that hold disproportionate influence among the larger associative groups that may incorporate them.³³⁶ For instance, he successfully leveraged white southern Christian ministers to build the “white” social proof for acceptance of the 1920 NAACP convention to be held in Atlanta.³³⁷

333 Bernays, “Manipulating Public Opinion,” 970.

334 Bernays, *Propaganda*, 44.

335 Bernays, “Manipulating Public Opinion,” 969.

336 *Ibid.*, 968.

337 Bernays, “Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel,” 302.

2. Modern Public Relations

a. Framing

Layering multiple frames can further refine the individual's likely perceptions and subsequent behavior choice to that which is desired by the persuader. Kirk Hallahan argues that there are seven basic models of framing that are applicable to public relations: situation, attribute, choice, action, issue, responsibility, and news.³³⁸ Robert Entman writes, "to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation."³³⁹ Because framing contextualizes (pre-digests) the information for the individual, it has the ability to set the individual's referential anchor points, affecting the thresholds that determine motivation and solution selection. Framing also activates heuristic processing by implying that the individual will think of and solve the message in terms of previously learned experiences (symbols), which are suggested by the framing. One sees this in the abortion debate. In this decades-long competition for public opinion, the population is deliberately led away from considering the vivid details of the medical procedure by one side and religious motivations by the other. Instead, the individual is persuaded to think in the more simple symbolic terms of life and choice, which lead one to seemingly obvious positions.³⁴⁰

b. Optimal Interest

Slight incongruities in a message lead to more interest in the message. In "Enhancing Motivation, Ability, and Opportunity to Process Public Relations Messages," Hallahan looks for ways to stimulate the inactive public, which he says is most often the primary target for PR and marketing strategists. He remarks that an audience's curiosity

³³⁸ Kirk Hallahan, "Seven Models of Framing: Implications for Public Relations," in *Journal of Public Relations Research* 11, no. 3 (1999): 210.

³³⁹ R.M. Entman, "Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," in *Journal of Communication* 43 (1993): 55.

³⁴⁰ Deana A. Rohlinger, "Framing the Abortion Debate: Organizational Resources, Media Strategies, and Movement-Counter-movement Dynamics," in *The Sociological Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (2002): 479–507.

can be increased “by presenting information in ways that are slightly incongruent with expectations and thus encourage audiences to reconcile differences between the message and their expectations.”³⁴¹ However, he cautions that purposeful incongruence should be balanced by the benefits of messages that are congruent with the individual’s self-concept. A longtime principle of business has been to focus messaging on the self-interest of the individual; “linking [product] benefits to personal characteristics that individuals consider important.”³⁴²

Deliberately including some negative information (incongruence) grabs the individual’s attention. The reviewed psychology literature mentions this technique, but mainly as a method to gain credibility as a reward for one’s humility (under reciprocity).³⁴³ Bodo Lang et al. argue this technique is useful for stimulating curiosity and deeper message evaluation. “An advertisement conveying a highly probable message, such as in a puffery advertisement, is probably judged to be very uninformative about the actual quality of the brand. On the other hand, an unexpected message, such as when negative information about the brand is provided, would be judged as transmitting more meaningful information.”³⁴⁴ The more systematic the processing the individual uses, the more internalized and enduring his resulting behavior and belief changes will be.

Repeating a theme, but varying the format (congruence), stimulates attention and closer message evaluation. There is a strong and ongoing debate about optimum repetition for advertising effectiveness. Some authors tout three exposures as a general rule,³⁴⁵ while others suggest effectiveness depends on factors such as brand

341 Kirk Hallahan, “Enhancing Motivation, Ability, and Opportunity to Process Public Relations Messages,” in *Public Relations Review* 26, no. 4 (2000): 470.

342 Hallahan, “Enhancing MOA,” 472.

343 Refer to Carl I. Hovland and Walter Weiss, “The Influence of Source Credibility on Communication Effectiveness,” in *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1951): 635–650.

344 Bodo Lang, Christina Kwai-Choi Lee, and Rami Zwick, “Message Sidedness at the Brand and Product Form Levels: Overcoming the Shortcomings of Two-sided Messages?” in *Advances in Consumer Research* 26 (1999): 485.

345 Herbert E. Krugman, “Why Three Exposures May Be Enough,” in *Journal of Advertising Research* 12, no. 6 (1973): 11–14.

familiarity, message complexity, and novelty.³⁴⁶ Gerard Tellis notes that “as the number of repetitions increase, consumer tedium grows faster than does habituation. At a certain point in time, further repetition has no positive impact.”³⁴⁷ Citing Hubert Zielske’s study, the “positive” effects of repetition can be increased by deliberately spacing their frequency. In his study, which applied 13 ads either spaced one week apart or one month apart, the burst of repetition achieved a high degree of product recall relatively more quickly, but the effect just as exponentially declined after the last ad exposure. In contrast, 13 ads spread over a year grew product recall less slowly but maintained awareness over the entire year. It is therefore a question of intent and budget; a single ad produces a greater efficient short-term effect, but 13 ads produce greater efficiency for sustained effects. The unexpected timing of message re-delivery can also serve to renew aspects of novelty and interest.³⁴⁸ This suggests that messages that stimulate and entertain will naturally possess a greater opportunity to relay their persuasive message because the individual will be more likely to pay attention during both the initial and subsequent deliveries. However, these findings could also suggest that it is not repetition that leads to ineffectiveness, but that at some point the novelty of competing signals becomes more alluring, diverting the individual’s attention.

B. MARKETING THEORISTS

There is as broad a variation among marketing perspectives and influence mechanisms as there is number of products, brands, and commercial industries. However, theorists generally agree that the focus of marketing and marketing tactics have been significantly affected by increased competition for consumers and advances in information technology available to both seller and buyer.³⁴⁹ In this section, I will review

346 Gerard Tellis, “Effective Frequency: One Exposure or Three Factors?” in *Journal of Advertising Research* (1997): 75–80.

347 Tellis, “Effective Frequency,” 78.

348 Hubert Zielske, “The Remembering and Forgetting of Advertising,” in *Journal of Marketing* 23, no. 3 (1959): 239–243.

349 Leonard L. Berry, “Relationship Marketing of Services—Growing Interest, Emerging Perspectives,” in *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 23, no. 4 (1995): 238.

contributions by Vance Packard, Philip Kotler (the “Father of Modern Marketing”), and social psychologist *cum* persuasive marketing expert Robert Cialdini. The findings reveal three broad factors that seem to determine successful marketing: gain the consumer’s attention, get him to conceive there is a need to change, and lead him to the “correct” way to make the change.

1. Vance Packard

American commercial marketing harnessed the needs and opportunities provided by the post-world war economic boom. As more product choices became available, the power in the commercial equation shifted from the producer and distributor to the customer. Because customer consumption is of a finite quantity, marketing became the primary inter-organizational competitive mechanism for increasing and winning a greater share of the customer’s consumptive habit. But already by the mid-’50s, the public was becoming somewhat inured to the overemployed overt persuasion techniques. In tandem with advances in the psychological sciences, marketing experts then shifted toward motivational research, principally the “depth approach,” to uncover Man’s subconscious motivations and to determine the cues that activate them.³⁵⁰ Some, like social journalist Vance Packard, viewed marketing’s potential for behavior and belief manipulation with growing alarm.

a. Subconscious Drivers

Anxiety drives the need and urgency to change. A marketing message appears to be more effective on the individual when “it gets him a little scared or mad or befuddled and then offers him a way to get rid of his fear, anger, or befuddlement.”³⁵¹ In 1957, Packard published *The Hidden Persuaders* as an attempt to educate the population in defense against what he deemed was the unethical use of subconscious persuasion techniques. In preparation, Packard conducted extensive research on marketing’s

³⁵⁰ Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, with introduction by Mark C. Miller (New York: Ig Publishing, 2007), 31.

³⁵¹ Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, 157.

successful “weaponization” of depth interview findings and interviews with leading marketing and psychology experts. Depth interviewing is the technique of engaging prospective customer category representatives in conversation to uncover their “hidden” perceptions and desires concerning a topic or product. Famed research psychologist Steinar Kvale offers a mining metaphor to explain its purpose; “knowledge is understood as buried metal and the interviewer is a miner who unearths the valuable metal...knowledge is waiting in the subject’s interior to be uncovered, uncontaminated by the miner. The interviewer digs nuggets of data or meaning out of a subject’s pure experiences, unpolluted by any leading questions.”³⁵² Packard concluded that marketers focus on eight base subconscious needs that, when triggered, seem to make the individual more susceptible to informational cues that offer methods to resolve these activated needs.³⁵³

- 1) Emotional Security
- 2) Reassurance of Worth
- 3) Ego-gratification
- 4) Creative Outlet
- 5) Love Objects
- 6) Sense of Power
- 7) Sense of Roots
- 8) Immortality

Protection or advancement of one’s status is a strong common variable among the subconscious needs. Packard’s examples of successful marketing messaging suggest that “we do what we do” as “portable symbols of our personality and our position.”³⁵⁴ To sell a car more effectively, the persuader does not sell the metal and plastic, he sells the promise to fulfill some or all of the buyer’s eight driving

³⁵² Robin Legard, Jill Keegan, and Kit Ward, “In-depth Interviews,” in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, ed. Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003), 139. A quote by Steinar Kvale.

³⁵³ Ibid., 86.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 70.

subconscious motivations. Advertising has power because it manipulates the value that ideas, words, and objects hold for individuals to promote intrinsic and extrinsic status.

The literature that addresses Maslow's hierarchy supports the view that humans have various basic needs that strongly influence their behavioral motivations. Although Maslow's sequential fulfillment hierarchy has been much questioned, the research testing its validity has revealed a general confirmation for the existence of common basic human needs.³⁵⁵ In 1969, Maslow expanded the hierarchy to eight stages.³⁵⁶

- 1) Biological and Physiological
- 2) Safety
- 3) Belongingness and Love
- 4) Esteem
- 5) Cognitive
- 6) Aesthetic
- 7) Self-Actualization
- 8) Transcendence

There is an obvious correlation with Packard's list. The key take-away for this thesis is that individuals who feel they have unmet core needs will naturally apply attention toward information that promises to resolve their sense of disequilibrium. This means, in turn, that individuals would have less attentional capacity (a finite cognitive resource) available to receive and act on persuasive messaging that addresses *other* non-elemental "concerns."

³⁵⁵ For criticism and support of universal needs, refer to examples: Shalom Schwartz and Wolfgang Bilsky, "Toward a Universal Psychological Structure of Human Values," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 53, no. 3 (1987): 550–562; Mahmoud Wahba and Lawrence G. Bridwell, "Maslow Reconsidered: A Review of Research on the Need Hierarchy Theory," in *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance* 15, no. 2 (1976): 212–240.

³⁵⁶ Maslow, A. H., "The Farther Reaches of Human Nature," in *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* 1, no. 1 (1969): 1–9.

b. Permission

Social guilt is both one of the biggest barriers to and motivations for change. Even though an individual may give his attention, believe there is a problem, and agree that the persuader's offered solution is both reasonable and profitable, his concern for his self-image and society's opinion can forestall action. In such circumstances, the individual is usually experiencing deeper levels of anxiety, most often from guilt, for pursuing individual pleasures.³⁵⁷ Ernest Dichter, one of the founding fathers of motivational research, made the comment that "one of the main jobs of the advertiser in this conflict between pleasure and guilt is not so much to sell the product as to give moral permission to have fun without guilt."³⁵⁸ For example, Packard describes the in-depth research by the smoking industry that found most people smoked as a reward and to prove their "virile maturity." When smoking ads reinforced the individual's virile self-image and reconfirmed his right to a reward for hard work, sales that had slumped as a result of health-concern pressures increased.³⁵⁹

c. Dissatisfaction

Creating dissatisfaction with the status quo makes individuals more susceptible to influence efforts that offer a restoration of a "better" equilibrium. By the mid-'50s, many commercial industries had reached a plateau in durable consumer purchases.³⁶⁰ A car once bought and cared for could last 20 years. The marketing industry's solution was to change American culture, to create hyper-dissatisfaction with thriftiness. The phenomenon is called "psychological obsolescence," commonly expressed as "keeping up with the Joneses."³⁶¹ Strong emotions such as shame and humiliation were repetitively associated with a loss of social status for not keeping one's possessions up-to-date. Success with this approach reinforces the premise that the

³⁵⁷ Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, 74, 126.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 74.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 75.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 165.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 44.

dominant motivation for behavioral action is connected to status preservation. It also suggests that influence efforts that infer threats to status and suggest methods to protect it should produce greater tendencies to comply.

2. Philip Kotler: Father of Modern Marketing

The most persuasive marketing strategies leverage social relationship attributes. After the '50s heyday of external-to-the-company ad agencies, market scholars began to realize that marketing should be “the homework the company does [first] to figure out what people need and [then determine] what the company should make.”³⁶² Marketing Management arose from this new customer-centric realization and the need to lead the consumer to realize more unmet needs. Philip Kotler, one of marketing's founding fathers, sensed that marketing practices had so far been too short-sited, focusing on short-term selling. In an era of hyper-competition, success would ultimately be determined by cultivating long-term “personal” relationships between the customer and the organization selling the product.³⁶³

Granting that marketing's intent is not altruistic, pursuit of relationship development implies that marketers realize the persuasive potential for social and group dynamics to affect the individual's behavior and belief compliance. “Social marketing appears to represent a bridging mechanism which links the behavioral scientist's knowledge of human behavior with the socially useful implementation of what that knowledge allows.”³⁶⁴ Kotler, in “Broadening the Concepts of Marketing,” offers nine principles of effective marketing that he argues have valid applications to non-business organizational activity. The first and the fifth offer the most insight into the dominant principles of psycho-social influence.

³⁶² Philip Kotler, “Dr. Philip Kotler Answers Your Questions on Marketing,” *Kotler Marketing Group Online*, accessed 21 February 2013, http://www.kotlermarketing.com/phil_questions.shtml.

³⁶³ Philip Kotler and Sidney J. Levy, “Broadening the Concept of Marketing,” in *Journal of Marketing* 33, no. 1 (1969): 12.

³⁶⁴ Philip Kotler and Gerald Zaltman, “Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change,” in *Journal of Marketing* 35, no. 3 (1971): 12.

a. Atmospheric Influence

Every cue, both message-based and contextual, processed by a recipient is a potential resource for increasing the individual's motivation to fulfill a persuasive request. According to Kotler, the fifth principle of effective marketing advises organizations to leverage a product's full *differential advantage*. A persuader "should consider what elements in its reputation or resources can be exploited to create a special value in the minds of its potential customers."³⁶⁵ Kotler admonishes that organizations forget that all aspects and parts of an organization send messages to the audience.³⁶⁶

The first principle advises the organization to offer a more *generic product definition*. "A cosmetic company sees its basic product as beauty or hope, not lipsticks and makeup."³⁶⁷ A more "primal" or basic needs product-definition would potentially find appeal across a broader audience of heterogeneous tastes. Also, selling one of the "basic human needs" should increase the individual's tendency to attend to and reconcile the message's implications with his self-identify and group status. This suggests that a product is a composite of "smaller" social symbols and that each symbol holds an exploitable potential for influence if cultivated properly.

"In some cases, the place, more specifically the atmosphere of the place, is more influential than the product itself in the purchase decision."³⁶⁸ This follows the psychology literature on initial perceptions imparting lasting bias on subsequent perceptions and decision-making. When entering a fast food restaurant, if the floor is littered with trash, the consumer naturally becomes pre-biased to expect bad service and poor food quality. Kotler notes that the atmospherics of an environment have the potential to increase the likelihood of purchase compliance in three distinct ways: creating attention, providing additional message context information, and creating

³⁶⁵ Kotler, "Broadening the Concept of Marketing," 14.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 13.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 13.

³⁶⁸ Philip Kotler, "Atmospherics as a Marketing Tool," in *Journal of Retailing* 49, no. 4 (1973): 48.

emotional affect.³⁶⁹ This serves as a reminder that in addition to receiving cues from the persuasive message itself or from others, the individual also scans his immediate environment for clues to appropriate behavior. This suggests a significant opportunity to enhance persuadability by considering, and deliberately constructing when possible, the physical environment in which an individual receives the message. For instance, casinos deliberately remove clocks and windows that would serve to remind the consumer about time being spent, increasing the tendency for consumers to gamble longer.³⁷⁰

3. Robert Cialdini

The key to persuasion is to leverage the six governing psycho-social principles that guide most of an individual's daily behavior. Robert B. Cialdini is not only recognized as a leading academic and research authority on the study of persuasion, but his book *Influence* is included in *The 100 Best Business Books of All Time*, where it is identified as the "top sales and marketing book" for the marketing professional.³⁷¹ His book represents the culmination of fifteen years of experimental and academic psychological research with direct field participation in major commercial compliance industries.

Cialdini's premise is that humans have necessarily evolved a wide range of automatic behavioral responses to quickly and efficiently process the daily deluge of life's routine information. These "fixed-action patterns" are triggered by specific circumstantial cues that signal the brain to execute pre-programmed behavior.³⁷² Expert compliance professionals have come to understand the exploitation opportunities not inherent in the fact that cues can be triggered outside of their originally intended context.

369 Kotler, "Atmospherics as a Marketing Tool," 50, 54.

370 Alfonso Oddo, "The Economics and Ethics of Casino Gambling," in *Review of Business* 18, no. 3 (1997): 4.

371 Jack Covert and Todd Sattersen, *The 100 Best Business Books of All Time: What They Say, Why They Matter, and How They Can Help You* (New York: Penguin Group, 2011). *Influence* by Robert Cialdini is identified as the "top sales & marketing book."

372 Robert Cialdini, *Influence: Science and Practice, fifth edition* (New York: Pearson Education, Inc, 2009), 3.

Realizing that compliance industries have had to perfect compliance techniques to survive, Cialdini sifted through thousands of recorded techniques. He discovered that most fell into one of six categories, each governed by a psychological principle based in social behavior: Reciprocity, Consistency, Social Proof, Liking, Authority, and Scarcity. He refers to these as the “weapons of influence.”³⁷³ When activated, they increase the tendency of people to default to their trusted pre-programmed responses. *Influence* has been translated and sold in 26 languages, which could anecdotally indicate its relevancy across a broad range of linguistically distinct cultures.

a. Reciprocity

When a person receives an unsolicited “favor” he experiences a subtle, but strong internal imperative to quickly repay the debt, at least in kind. Modern complex society became possible because individuals learned to accept interdependence and the exchange of goods and services based on promises of future payment. Cialdini notes that the long-term benefits of the reciprocity principle are so paramount to a functioning society that “all human societies subscribe to the rule.”³⁷⁴

Individuals are unable to control when and to whom they become indebted. The nature of the socialized obligation works on three fronts; individuals are conditioned to provide, repay, and accept favors. This provides a powerful persuasive opportunity for adept salesmen. Upon an initial contact, the solicitor primes the customer with indebtedness by giving him symbolic “gifts,” such as personal compliments, a cup of coffee, or a price concession. By the time the true business transaction occurs, the customer is in a state of subconscious reciprocal obligation to the salesman. The salesman then guides the customer to self-conclude that making the purchase is the optimal way to fulfill the reciprocal debt.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Cialdini, *Influence*, 1.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 20; See also, Alvin Gouldner, “The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement,” in *American Sociological Review* 25, no. 2 (1960): 161–178; and Luigino Bruni, Mario Gilli, and Vittorio Pelligra, “Reciprocity: Theory and Facts,” in *International Review of Economics* 55, no. 1 (2008): 1–11.

³⁷⁵ Cialdini, *Influence*, 31.

The reciprocity principle can help secure long-term changes in behavior and beliefs. Making and accepting concessions are forms of increased personal involvement in the decision-making process. The more an individual invests in the exchange endeavor, the greater his incentive to see that it works out well. “A person who feels responsible for the terms of a contract will be more likely to live up to that contract.”³⁷⁶ Cialdini also notes that an individual finds deals more satisfying when they include concessions from the other person. The observed result is that this satisfaction leads to an increased tendency to agree to the same deal in future similar circumstances.³⁷⁷

b. Commitment and Consistency

Executing a behavior creates self-identity and societal expectations to remain consistent when one finds oneself in future similar circumstances. Much as with reciprocity, this principle has been deeply socialized through communal living. Group function depends on individuals extending trust. Observations of group members’ predictability reconfirms this trust is valid. Cialdini finds that “the person whose beliefs, words, and deeds don’t match is seen [by society] as confused, two-faced, even mentally ill.”³⁷⁸ Although he doesn’t specifically say this principle is universal, he implies as much by noting that theorists have found consistency to be a “central motivator of [human] behavior.”³⁷⁹

The more “active, public, and effortful” a commitment one makes, he will be to internalize the behavior and repeat it. Cialdini notes a general finding that “persons who go through a great deal of trouble or pain to attain something tend to value it more highly than persons who attain the same thing with a minimum of effort.”³⁸⁰ The

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 45.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 45.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 53.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 53. Here he references the work by theorists Leon Festinger, Fritz Heider, and Theodore Newcomb.

³⁸⁰ Elliot Aronson and Judson Mills, "The Effect of Severity of Initiation on Liking for a Group," in *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 59, no. 2 (1959): 177; as cited in Cialdini, *Influence*, 78.

individual also is strongly compelled to maintain the approval of his valued groups; this drives him to project consistency in his behavior to confirm his trustworthiness. Marketing professionals know that if they can gain small and seemingly insignificant, but “public” commitments, this principle will trigger both internal and external pressures on the individual to behave similarly when faced with a larger commitment request of the same nature.³⁸¹ By first asking a person to sign a petition (representing public and personal commitment), to support the eradication of cancer, for instance, an individual will more likely donate money to cancer research when asked to in the near future. This also suggests that the act of offering or accepting concessions during negotiations represents a tacit commitment to eventually make a deal.

c. Social Proof

The byproduct of social group and interpersonal trust, so ingrained by socialization, is the tendency to also trust that the group possesses a collective knowledge that exceeds the individual’s capacity. “We assume that if a lot of people are doing something, they must know something we don’t.”³⁸² The stress of incomplete knowledge, the fear of the unfamiliar, or the pressures of time are some of the common factors that lead the individual to feel he is incapable of arriving at a correct decision on his own. Universality of this principle, but not the degree of influence, can be assumed from Cialdini’s findings that “any culture that values the group over the individual exhibits this greater susceptibility to information about peers’ choices.”³⁸³

The individual follows the majority’s lead even when there is ample opportunity and capacity to conduct a systematic assessment of the situation. Experience and socialized learning have convinced the individual that the majority’s opinion and

³⁸¹ Cialdini, *Influence*, 61, 64.

³⁸² Ibid., 137.

³⁸³ Ibid., 137. Here he cites Rod Bond and Peter B. Smith, “Culture and Conformity: A Meta-analysis of Studies Using Asch’s (1952b, 1956) Line Judgment Task,” in *Psychological Bulletin* 119, no. 1 (1996): 111–137; and Robert B. Cialdini, Wilhelmina Wosinska, Daniel W. Barrett, Jonathan Butner, and Malgorzata Gornik-Durose, “Compliance with a Request in Two Cultures: The Differential Influence of Social Proof and Commitment/Consistency on Collectivists and Individualists,” in *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25, no. 10 (1999): 1242–1253.

behavior deliver a useful result, an acceptable percentage of the time. Marketers readily comprehend that people predominantly accept the example of the majority. Thus, persuasive campaigns specifically highlight the concurrence of credible majorities; for instance, toothpaste companies quote the high ratio of approving dentists for their product since, with respect to dental care, dentists are seen as credible “authority” figures.

The opinions and behaviors of similar others carries persuasive credibility without requiring volume. Similar others “gives us the greatest insight into what constitutes correct behavior for ourselves.”³⁸⁴ The more similar an “other” seems to be, the more the individual assumes that that person’s decision-making evaluation process would produce results pertinent to his particular circumstances. Cialdini uses the disheartening example of suicide mimicry; a suicide triggers other suicides by those who deem themselves very similar to the original suicide victim.³⁸⁵ Marketers use the similarity principle to fine-tune their persuasive appeals to increase their salience. For example, once a car salesman understands that his customer is a potato farmer with four kids from Nebraska, he can increase the farmer’s likelihood of purchasing a certain model by mentioning that other people, with similar life-circumstances, have previously purchased that same car.

The more individuals look to and incorporate the opinions and behavioral decisions of their groups (or the perceived majority), the more the individual’s identity and group status is placed at risk should the group be proven wrong. Cialdini cites the example of cult members who, when faced with invalidated prophecies, exhibit an even greater determination to believe in their cult.³⁸⁶ “Since the physical evidence could not be changed, the social evidence had to be.”³⁸⁷ This could suggest that individuals need their foundational groups to be right more than they need them to be accurate. This could explain the broad literature’s conclusions that persuasive arguments based on rationality

³⁸⁴ Cialdini, *Influence*, 118.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 124.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 107. Cialdini’s example specifically refers to the UFO cult as described by Leon Festinger et al., *When Prophecy Fails*.

³⁸⁷ Cialdini, *Influence*, 109.

and facts do not produce significant influence. This might even suggest that a better persuasive path would be to leverage the individual's membership in his other defining groups, those which by their nature contain a supporting basis for the desired "new" character trait, behavior, or opinion.

d. Liking

The degree to which a person likes or dislikes the persuader, also known as *attribution bias*, influences his tendency to comply or reject the source's request. Cialdini's research reveals that people are more likely to agree with requestors who are physically attractive and more similar to themselves.³⁸⁸ If life can be considered a contest, then Cialdini's reference to Isaac Asimov's quote is not only applicable, but it may reveal the true basis for this principle's power, status. "Whomever you root for represents *you*; and when he (or she) wins, *you* win."³⁸⁹ By extending additional credibility to an attractive source additional credibility the individual allows himself to enter into a status-rewarding relationship (directly or by association). By extending additional credibility to sources similar to himself, the individual is ultimately promoting the "righteousness" and accuracy of his and his group's opinions and behaviors. In fact, this aspect is so strongly influential that Cialdini notes, "even small similarities can be effective in producing a positive response to another."³⁹⁰

Taken more broadly, the psychology of liking represents the adage, "we are known by the company we keep."³⁹¹ The principle of association relates how humans readily transfer the qualities of one thing into a closely associated other thing. Marketing campaigns incorporate non-relevant positive cultural symbols into their products for this very reason.³⁹² On this topic, Cialdini refers to how "everything from breakfast drink to

388 Ibid., 172.

389 Ibid., 167.

390 Ibid., 149.

391 Ibid., 160.

392 Ibid., 162.

deodorant was sold with allusions to the American space program.”³⁹³ Although Cialdini does not strictly claim that *liking* is universal, he infers it through examples such as the global success of Tupperware sales, which are chiefly attributed to the “global” existence and leverage of the liking principle.³⁹⁴

A person is more likely to comply with persuaders who are also more positively familiar to him. Repetitive positive exposure seems to stimulate cognitive proof of credibility in the aggregate. Several judgment biases explain this facet of the liking principle. According to the *availability* heuristic, the more easily and quickly something comes to mind, the greater credibility the individual assigns to the information.³⁹⁵ In marketing, repetition is often used to prime positive associations before purchase decisions are encountered. Cialdini notes a study that showed that repetitive exposure to banner ads for a camera increased the camera’s positive assessment for purchase.³⁹⁶ The findings about familiarity would suggest that repetition can indirectly increase the effectiveness of this principle, as long as the exposures are perceived as more positive than neutral.

Another persuasive aspect of *liking* is elicited by cooperation. Perceived cooperation produces greater liking of the cooperator. As noted under *commitment & consistency*, concessions increase satisfaction of the negotiated result. Somewhat similarly, leading the individual to believe that he and the persuader are working for the same goal as “teammates,” increases the persuader’s likability.³⁹⁷ Most famously this is how the *good cop/bad cop* interrogation technique works. Or, in marketing, we see this with the car salesman who is the friend and champion working with the buyer to get the best deal from the ever unseen “manager.”

393 Ibid., 162.

394 Ibid., 142.

395 Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, “Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases,” in *Science, New Series* 185, no. 4157 (1974).

396 Cialdini, *Influence*, 152.

397 Ibid., 157.

e. Authority

The process of socialization teaches people to comply unconditionally with recognized sources of authority. One of the necessary conditions for a functioning society is a division of labor and responsibility. Chalmers Johnson in *Revolutionary Change* argues that “all functional societies generate a hierarchy of statuses as a concomitant of solving their problems of role allocation and assignment.”³⁹⁸ To make the system work, societies need to empower certain individuals with more power and authority than others to manage and enforce the system. As such, Cialdini notes that “the tendency to obey legitimate authorities comes from systematic socialization practices designed to instill in members of society the perception that such obedience constitutes correct conduct.”³⁹⁹ In fact, individuals learn early on that there is a very high likelihood they will benefit from quickly and fully complying with authorities and experts.⁴⁰⁰ Cialdini suggests that this principle too can be assumed to be universal. He cites the study by Wim Meeus and Quinten Raaijmakers that found results similar to Milgram’s from experiments done in Holland, Germany, Spain, Italy, Australia, and Jordan.⁴⁰¹

Perceptions of authority and expertness are more specifically triggered by the presence of their accepted signature symbols. Cialdini’s research into this principle identifies three common strongly persuasive symbol categories: titles, clothes, and trappings.⁴⁰² These become the quick assessment cues used by individuals in the pursuit of information processing accuracy and efficiency in the face of overwhelming demands on cognitive resources. In commercial messaging, the societal deference to a doctors’ medical advice can be triggered by non-doctor spokespersons just holding a clipboard and wearing a white lab coat and glasses. As an example, Cialdini relates the highly

³⁹⁸ Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change*, Second ed. (California: Stanford University Press, 1982), 54.

³⁹⁹ Cialdini, *Influence*, 195.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 181.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 179. In reference to Wim H. Meeus and Quinten A. Raaijmakers, "Administrative Obedience: Carrying Out Orders to Use Psychological-Administrative Violence," in *European Journal of Social Psychology* 16, no. 4 (1986): 311–324.

⁴⁰² Cialdini, *Influence*, 184.

successful use of a TV show doctor to persuade consumers of new habits based on proclaimed health benefits.⁴⁰³ Additionally, the principle of association, discussed previously under *liking*, would suggest that a subject-specific authority, like a doctor, retains deferential authority even when speaking on non-medical related subjects, such as political candidate endorsements. Similarly, a non-authority persuader in the company of other legitimate authority figures would naturally inherit, by association, an increased level of authoritative credibility.

f. Scarcity

People have come to automatically correlate rarity with value. There are two prominent psychological theories that best explain the power behind this principle of scarcity. Research supporting Kahneman and Tversky's Prospect theory demonstrates that people generally rate a potential loss as more significant than an equal potential gain, making humans naturally loss averse unless they are in a "loss-frame" of mind where their tolerance for risk increases.⁴⁰⁴ Brehm's Reactance theory argues that people subconsciously "react against attempts to control their behavior and eliminate their freedom of choice."⁴⁰⁵ Together, these two cognitive processes motivate the individual to value and pursue scarce items (information, tangibles, and intangibles, such as freedom) to prevent "losing out" and to increase available options for unknown future decision-making requirements. Cialdini demonstrates that messaging what will be lost by non-compliance tends to be more persuasive than messaging that focuses on what can be gained through compliance. This again supports the advantages in pursuing indirect, seemingly counter-intuitive strategies to gain the ultimately desired behavior and belief change. Although Cialdini does not make a specific claim about this principle's universality, he refers to prominent evolutionary theory, according to which "if one has enough to survive, an increase in resources will be helpful but a decrease in those same

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 183.

⁴⁰⁴ Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, "Advances in Prospect Theory: Cumulative Representation of Uncertainty," in *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 5, no. 4 (1992): 297.

⁴⁰⁵ Mona A. Clee and Robert A. Wicklund, "Consumer Behavior and Psychological Reactance," in *Journal of Consumer Research* 6, no. 4 (1980): 390.

resources could be fatal,” triggering a primal bias toward avoiding loss.⁴⁰⁶ He also addresses James Davies’ thesis on world-wide revolutions, according to which revolutions are better attributed to a decrease in accustomed freedoms rather than critical dissatisfaction with abysmal conditions.⁴⁰⁷

A second influential facet of *scarcity* is that people assign increased value to something when there is perceived competition. “The joy is not in the experiencing of a scarce commodity but in the possessing of it.”⁴⁰⁸ Cialdini relates the success of a car seller who ensured that a second prospective buyer arrived on site while the first buyer was deliberating, increasing the urgency felt by both buyers to obtain the car.⁴⁰⁹ At that point, the specific merits of the mechanical item had not changed, leaving only the added value of winning the “competition” as the basis for the car’s increased “value.” This suggests that the core motivation is really status. If true, then persuasive appeals that seek to use a “carrot-and-stick” in relation to an individual’s status may increase his motivation to comply with the offered solution.

One facet of loss aversion is that people tend to value something more once they feel ownership. They do not have to physically own it, but rather just come to hold an expectation of liberal access. Cialdini references social scientists’ conclusions about the instigation of revolutions across time and space; “when the economic and social improvements [the people] have experienced and come to expect suddenly become less available, they desire them more than ever and often rise up violently to secure them.”⁴¹⁰ This is very much like Marx’s notion of the “crisis of rising expectations.” In the psychology literature, this ownership bias is referred to as the *Endowment Effect*. Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler’s research concludes that people attribute a greater-than-

406 Cialdini, *Influence*, 202. In specific reference to Martie G. Haselton and Daniel Nettle, “The Paranoid Optimist: An Integrative Evolutionary Model of Cognitive Biases,” in *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10, no. 1 (2006): 47–66.

407 Cialdini, *Influence*, 214.

408 Ibid., 222.

409 Ibid., 223.

410 Ibid., 214. Here in principle reference to James C. Davies, “Toward a Theory of Revolution,” in *American Sociological Review* (1962): 5–19.

cost value to something once they feel entitled.⁴¹¹ This phenomenon accords with the common adage, “give them an inch, and they will take a mile.” In other words, there are no such things as inconsequential concessions. Any concession sets up an overvalued expectation of continuance, which can increase the status quo resistance to change via a competing persuasive appeal.

g. Contrast, the underlying seventh principle

The strength of all six principles relies on the overall general principle of cognitive contrast. The human mind judges the world by comparing two things: a stimulus to a standard or a stimulus to a second stimulus. This should recall the *anchoring* heuristic discussed in Chapter 2.⁴¹² In illustration, Cialdini mentions the marketing technique whereby a realtor offers a “dumpy” looking house at a high price so subsequent “nicer” homes of near-equal high price seem the greater bargain.⁴¹³ Manipulating an individual’s initial contrast assessment can beneficially affect his judgment. Such manipulations affect the individual’s frame of mind (gain or loss), prime his mood (positive or negative), and determine when his attention threshold has been breached.

C. MODERN MARKETING PARADIGMS

Advances in communications technology have created a natural long-term competitive advantage for marketers who build and leverage customer-producer relationships over those who seek only to achieve customer consumption. The advent of industrialization severed the “original” consumer-producer intimate relationship –of the villager to his neighborhood blacksmith– and so removed a significant portion of the interpersonal influence that used to affect consumer behavior. Modern technology has now enabled producers to use mass communications platforms while delivering highly

⁴¹¹ Daniel Kahneman, Jack L. Knetsch, and Richard H. Thaler, “Experimental Tests of the Endowment Effect and the Coase Theorem,” in *Journal of Political Economy* 98, no. 6 (1990): 1325–1348.

⁴¹² Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, “Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk,” in *Econometrica* 47, no. 2 (1979): 277.

⁴¹³ Cialdini, *Influence*, 15.

“personalized” messaging. In the other direction, these same platforms have enabled and encouraged consumers to voice their most intimate motivations and desires, providing rich sources of discrete information to marketers.⁴¹⁴

1. Relationship Marketing

Relationship marketing (RM) reclaims some of the persuasive opportunities lost with industrialization and incorporates the efficiency advantages of modern methods of communication. “Relationship marketing refers to all marketing activities directed toward establishing, developing, and maintaining successful relational exchanges.”⁴¹⁵ Consumers cognitively desire to “smartly” narrow down the selection of options for consideration, both for decision-making efficiency and to eliminate “lingering” sources of uncertainty about their final selection among all the potential options. Accepting a relationship with a particular brand or company becomes an accepted heuristic decision-making shortcut providing increased “psychological comfort” for future decisions. The relationship exchange not only becomes habit, but also creates feelings of loyalty. The end result of successful RM is that consumers voluntarily reduce their choice options, having internalized a sense of loyalty to a company, brand, product, or service provider, which manifests itself in longer-term behavior changes.⁴¹⁶ A survey of the current discourse on RM offers insights into influence principles that affect the individual’s likelihood of saying yes and of continuing to do so.

a. Gift, Gratitude, and Loyalty

By “surprising” the customer with unexpected and personal benevolence, the company momentarily disorients the customer who then responds automatically, defaulting to the socialized responsibility to repay debts. Because RM “gifts” are framed

414 Jagdish N. Sheth and Atul Parvatiyar, “The Evolution of Relationship Marketing,” in *International Business Review* 4, no. 4 (1995): 397.

415 Robert M. Morgan and Shelby D. Hunt, “The Commitment-Trust Theory of Relationship Marketing,” in *Journal of Marketing* 58, no. 3 (1994): 22.

416 Jagdish N. Sheth and Atul Parvatiyar, “Relationship Marketing in Consumer Markets: Antecedents and Consequences,” in *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Sciences* 23, no. 4 (1995): 256.

within a relationship, the originating gift seems more intimate; the individual feels obliged to repay, both in terms of “size” and substance (relationship). Intimate exchanges are generally perceived as more significant demonstrations of trust and commitment. Robert Palmatier et al. in “The Role of Customer Gratitude in Relationship Marketing” propose that gratitude, more specifically its ability to trigger reciprocal obligation, is the key objective for productive RM.⁴¹⁷ In their paper, the authors offer three strategies to heighten the individual’s sense of gratitude in response to RM investments:⁴¹⁸

- 1) Increase the customer’s perceptions of the seller’s free will and benevolence.
- 2) Provide the benefit to the customer when his need is most acute, thereby perceived as having increased value.
- 3) Give the customer the opportunity to reciprocate soon after providing the benefit.

The first strategy advises the persuader to make the benevolent gesture feel deliberate and unique, so that the individual feels the relationship is more genuine and the gift is at least more symbolically valuable. The incentive gifts “that everyone receives, that are in response to a customer’s request, that are given to match a competitor’s offer...may generate little gratitude or need to reciprocate.”⁴¹⁹ The second strategy speaks to timing, and simply understanding that something like a cup of coffee offered to a customer on a cold wet day will be perceived as more valuable and intimate than if done on a hot sunny day. The third strategy notes the shelf-life of the social imperative; “a customer’s feeling of gratefulness toward a seller will ultimately decay and, in the worst case scenario, will generate feelings of guilt, which customers may try to relieve by rationalizing why they did not reciprocate.”⁴²⁰ These arguments support the advantages of manipulating the target’s evaluative anchor points. What is more interesting is the research that gift-giving, when relationship-framed, can stimulate

417 Robert W. Palmatier, Cheryl B. Jarvis, Jennifer R. Bechkoff, and Frank R. Kardes, “The Role of Customer Gratitude in Relationship Marketing,” in *Journal of Marketing* 73 (2009): 1.

418 Palmatier et al., “The Role of Customer Gratitude in Relationship Marketing,” 13.

419 Ibid., 14.

420 Ibid., 14.

reciprocal obligations both in quantity and fealty. This suggests that successive exchanges of small relationship-based favors can eventually build a strong enough cognitive precedent for a loyalty-based exchange relationship that can be extended to exchanges beyond the original context.

b. Resistance to Competition

Relational exchange behavior increases the resistance of the individual to competing persuasive requests. Relationship management increases the interdependence of the individual with the persuader and therefore establishes a higher cost to changing the established relational status quo. Robert Dwyer, Paul Schurr, and Sejo Oh in “Developing Buyer-Seller Relationships,” argue that the “buyer’s anticipation of high switching costs give rise to the buyer’s interest in maintaining a quality relationship.”⁴²¹ Poul Andersen in “Foot in the Door: Relationship Marketing Efforts Towards Transaction-Oriented Customers,” similarly argues that “by establishing bonds in the relationship marketing process, suppliers erect exit and termination costs for the customer, making it more difficult to swap to other sources of input.”⁴²² This suggests that after securing multiple small commitments, influence efforts that lead the individual to believe his total investment has already been significant should result in his increased motivation to avoid the “loss” associated with starting fresh in a competing behavior.

c. Resistance to Relationships

Leonard Berry warns, “low-trust organizations are barred from relationship marketing.”⁴²³ This is not the only barrier to pursuing relationship management. “Customers may resist suppliers’ attempts to become intimate.”⁴²⁴ This is because individuals understand that although relationships offer rewards, they also

⁴²¹ Robert Dwyer, Paul Schurr, and Sejo Oh, “Developing Buyer-Seller Relationships,” in *Journal of Marketing* 51, no. 2 (1987): 14.

⁴²² Poul H. Andersen, “Foot in the Door: Relationship Marketing Efforts Towards Transaction-Oriented Customers,” in *Journal of Market-Focused Management* 5 (2002): 93.

⁴²³ Leonard L. Berry, “Relationship Marketing of Services- Perspectives from 1983 and 2000,” in *Journal of Relationship Marketing* 1, no. 1 (2002): 73.

⁴²⁴ Andersen, “Foot in the Door,” 91.

obligate unspecified expenditures. The challenge is to increase the attractiveness of the relationship's benefit. Andersen offers several marketing proposals. First, tout the company's benefit as a problem-solver. This is essentially why the individual is sampling the information environment; he has a need and is looking for a solution. Second, downplay the customer's sense that he would be losing any independence. As previously noted, Reactance Theory predicts that an individual will tend to resist requests that threaten his sense of freedom. Third, be willing to accept an asymmetric relationship in the beginning. Up front "contributions" to the customer should be viewed as worthwhile investments when compared to the benefits of securing long-term behavioral consistency.⁴²⁵

Lastly, and maybe most usefully, persuaders should view every termination or rejection of an exchange relationship as an opportunity to shape an "imminent" future relationship. "Individuals are, even after they have stopped trading, aware of each other as possible counterparts for the future."⁴²⁶ Customers have a natural resistance to fully commit to relationships without prior experience; so, they test the relationship through a series of low-risk, short duration trials. Accordingly, Andersen argues that companies should positively "preserve relationship energy" between actions.⁴²⁷ In each interaction, the individual is coding the association as either good or bad. Andersen's proposal nests with the previous suppositions on securing small, seemingly insignificant acts of compliance. Not only does doing so set up consistency pressures, but can also benefit persuasion efforts by bridging the intermediate period where the individual is experiencing a natural hesitancy about entering a relationship.

d. Intra-organizational Proactive Influence

There are eleven principle influence tactics used within the business organization setting to secure non-coercive compliance. "Proactive tactics are used in an

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 101-104.

⁴²⁶ Virpi Havila, and Ian F. Wilkinson, "The Principle of the Conservation of Business Relationship Energy: Or Many Kinds of New Beginnings," in *Industrial Marketing Management* 31, no. 3 (2002): 192.

⁴²⁷ Andersen, "Foot in the Door," 104.

attempt to influence someone to carry out an immediate request, and they are especially important in situations when the agent has little authority over target persons.”⁴²⁸ Research by Gary Yukl, Charles F. Seifert, and Carolyn Chavez has revealed that the first five on the list are most often employed and most often successful.⁴²⁹

- 1) Rational Persuasion
- 2) Consultation
- 3) Inspirational Appeals
- 4) Collaboration
- 5) Ingratiation
- 6) Apprising
- 7) Personal Appeals
- 8) Exchange
- 9) Legitimizing
- 10) Pressure
- 11) Coalition

The eleven tactics are broadly accepted by the business community and institutionalized in the Influence Behavior Questionnaire (IBQ), used by organizations to poll their organizational management effectiveness. The first, *rational persuasion*, focuses more on convincing the target of the feasibility and relevance of the proposed solution, which may leverage the *authority* principle. The second, *consultation*, encourages the target to actively participate in forming solutions to a stated problem, which leverages the *consistency* principle. The third, *inspirational*, evokes the target’s values and links them to execution of the proposed solution, which also triggers *consistency*. The fourth, *collaboration*, undermines the likely excuses for not executing a solution by offering assistance and resources. The fifth, *ingratiation*, is a core tactic for peer-to-peer relations, one which leverages *reciprocity*. Not surprisingly, the more personal social influence tactics, six through eight, are employed less frequently by

⁴²⁸ Gary Yukl, Charles F. Seifert, and Carolyn Chavez, “Validation of the Extended Influence Behavior Questionnaire,” in *The Leadership Quarterly* 19 (2008): 609.

⁴²⁹ Gary Yukl et al., “Validation of the Extended Influence Behavior Questionnaire,” 615.

managers on their subordinates. This probably has more to do with business norms of acceptable fraternization-conduct. The identification of five core tactics reinforces previous conclusions that leading the individual to self-actualize a solution results in more enduring behavioral change.

2. Anchoring and Adjustment Heuristic

Similar to PR's recognition that framing effectively biases audience assessment, marketers understand and employ techniques to influence the target's contrast evaluation. Their techniques seek to manipulate both the person's "gain-" and "loss-" perspectives and his anchor point selection, which scales the "significance" of the potential change. The marketing literature on anchor-biasing generally builds upon Tversky and Kahneman's work in judgment uncertainty, including Prospect theory. Those in a "loss" frame are risk acceptant and prefer a larger risk for an uncertain larger gain over a smaller risk for a certain smaller gain.⁴³⁰ A review of the anchoring literature in marketing raises two interesting points for this thesis: people break down and assess complex problems by prioritized chunks, and the presence of unrealistic cues biases assessment.

a. Bundle Marketing

Individuals tend to break down complex problems into several smaller, more manageable decisions and then incorporate their compartmentalized findings in order of significance, as time and interest allow. In bundle-marketing (a way of handling several complex problems at once), where several products or services are offered together, the marketer understands that the cognitive overload of total evaluation leads him to select and assess just the most significant component. "Uncertainty may lead certain consumers to reduce their search effort in favor of satisficing choice heuristics, such as bundle purchasing."⁴³¹ The initial "heuristic" assessment represents a probabilistic assessment of the value of the greater bundled whole. Any additional

⁴³⁰ Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, "Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases," in *Science* 185, no. 4157 (1974): 1124–1131.

⁴³¹ Omar Merlo, Bryan A. Lukas, and Gregory J. Whitwell, "Heuristics revisited: Implications for Marketing Research and Practice," in *Marketing Theory* 8 (2008): 192.

evaluations of the “less” significant components are manifested in adjustments to the initial base evaluation. However, Manjit Yadav in “How Buyers Evaluate Product Bundles: A Model of Anchoring and Adjustment” notes that this strategy consistently favors the initial anchor evaluation.⁴³² This suggests a significant advantage to the persuader who can influence the individual’s selected anchor. He not only primes the individual’s “gain” or “loss” mind-set, but also affects his subsequent evaluations of the remaining message and other competing messages.

b. Symbolic Suggestions

Unrealistic, but highly salient and suggestive, anchor-selection cues still affect the individual’s “gain/loss” mind-set and selection of anchor points. In uncertain environments, people depend on their learned heuristics to “best” and most efficiently respond to decision requests. Heuristic-appropriateness is generally signaled by a few highly salient cues, such as a badge indicating authority or higher prices indicating higher quality. Highly salient and suggestive symbols in a complex persuasive message are in themselves cues that signal which component the individual should consider most important, or capable of producing a satisfactory representative assessment of the whole. In a study of direct mail charitable contributions, Gerald Smith and Paul Berger note that “even though subjects attitudinally rejected exaggerated reference prices, these prices still positively influenced perceptions of value and estimates of market price.”⁴³³ Smith and Berger are referring to the marketing technique of including suggested monetary donation levels within the persuasive solicitation, which results in higher than average donations. Their point is that even obviously inflated “reference prices” still trigger compliance in a desired direction. Similarly, Jenny Jordan and Klaus Kaas in a study on judgmental heuristics and consumer mutual fund assessment note that “uninformative and implicitly presented anchor values without logical coherence to the estimate are able to bias return

⁴³² Manjit S. Yadav, “How Buyers Evaluated Product Bundles: A Model of Anchoring and Adjustment,” in *Journal of Consumer Research* 21, no. 2 (1994): 343.

⁴³³ Gerald E. Smith and Paul D. Berger, “The Impact of Framing, Anchorpoints, and Frames of Reference on Direct Mail Charitable Contributions,” in *Advances in Consumer Research* 22 (1995): 708.

perceptions significantly.”⁴³⁴ The authors infer that since mutual funds deal with an individual’s monetary (numbers) -based goals, any prominent numbers in the advertisement influence his “gain/loss” frame of mind and estimates of return, regardless of whether the numbers are relevant to the particular calculation at hand. Accounts like these of direct and indirect opportunities to influence the individual’s anchor selection and mind-set suggest the importance of uncovering the individual’s specific “vocabulary” which he most associates with the topic. By speaking the same “language,” the persuader leverages the positive aspects of the liking principle. By increasing the prominence of certain symbols within his “cue” list, the persuader can increase the individual’s attention toward a certain anchor over others.

D. CHAPTER DISCUSSION

This review has surveyed a broad spectrum of marketing literature to discern major principles of marketing influence that seem to most affect a person’s likelihood of complying with an explicit or implicit behavior request. It is no surprise that marketing follows the well-worn tenets of psycho-social interaction and propaganda: gain attention, stimulate a need, and offer a solution. In addition to these basic necessary conditions, the marketing review reveals three recurring tenets of persuasion: frame manipulation, symbol cooption, and purposeful stimulation management.

The first tenet, frame manipulation, is to pre-dispose the target to see the world in a certain way so that he will likely perceive and solve a problem in a certain way, one that is ultimately conducive to the persuader’s goal. Framing influences the individual’s selection of perceptual anchor points, from which he bases his subsequent evaluation judgments. It is an efficiency-of-effort mechanism. For example, it requires significantly more time, energy, and resources to physically increase the size of a home for sale than it does to stimulate the individual’s perception that the house is more valuable than it is.

⁴³⁴ Jenny Jordan and Klaus P. Kaas, “Advertising in the Mutual Fund Business: The Role of Judgmental Heuristics in Private Investors’ Evaluation of Risk and Return,” in *Journal of Financial Services Marketing* 7, no. 2 (2002): 135.

The second prevalent tenet of marketing influence, symbol cooption, is a reflection of the “work smarter, not harder” indirect approach. Symbols have transitive properties. Association with a symbol can provide the associated object, person, or idea with some or all of the symbol’s inherent credibility and status. Additionally, people come to incorporate their society’s recognized symbols as “authorized” information shortcuts; white lab coat equals medical authority. By identifying and coopting the person’s existing symbols, the marketer can bypass much of his natural resistance to an unfamiliar appeal aimed at securing an unfamiliar behavior.

The third tenet, stimulation management, recognizes that gaining someone’s attention is only a momentary achievement; the persuader needs to sustain the customer’s interest long enough for him to recognize and process the persuasive request. Persuasion is basically a competition for a person’s attention, motivation, and effort. Marketing recognizes the value of marrying entertainment with behavioral requests. Novelty secures a window of valuable attention, raising the persuasive appeal above the moderating noise of the status quo. Slight inconsistencies and surprise are primary methods to encourage more contemplative consideration of a message.

1. Psycho-social Principles’ Sufficiency Assessment

This chapter’s literature review continues to support the sufficiency of the six governing principles of influence proposed by Dr. Cialdini. There are several additional insights, but these can mostly be incorporated by a slight expansion of the principles’ accepted definitions. In the case of *reciprocity*, it makes sense to explore how the symbolic nature of the gift affects the reciprocal urge and its longevity. Intimate gifts, those proffered under the guise of a relationship, encourage a similarly meaningful gesture in return. Anecdotally, in relationship management, intimate exchanges seem to be able to establish a precedent of loyalty, leading to an enduring obligation without necessarily requiring continued tit-for-tat exchanges.

In the case of *commitment & consistency*, it should be recognized that purposefully incorporating slight inconsistencies in persuasive messaging can improve attention and retention. The internal cognitive drive to reconcile expectations with reality

motivates the individual to pay closer attention to dis-conforming messages, which increases his likelihood of proceeding to the next step, which is judging the message's relevancy and then acting. However, even if a person pays attention, accepts the appeal, and is willing to act, his social-based guilt can compete against taking action. One of the major objectives of marketing to secure new behavior is to convince the individual that his actions would not violate his or his group's defining values; in simple words, this means alleviating the customer's feelings of guilt for gaining some personal advantage.

In the case of *social proof*, it seems worthwhile to investigate where certain individuals can become implicit representations of a majority behavior apart from their influence as individual authority figures. This seems true, at least in the negative. For instance, a U.S. soldier in Afghanistan who commits an anti-Islamic transgression (e.g., Koran burnings) influences the behavior and beliefs of an audience that considers the individual to represent a larger majority, in this case U.S. soldiers in general.⁴³⁵

It would also seem worthwhile for *social proof* to pursue the disproportionate credibility assigned to a volume of low credibility messages. In the aggregate, low credibility corroborating messages that seem to come from independent sources acquire increased credibility when assessed as an aggregated source of proof. This suggests that the majority-is-correct principle applies to assessing information, as well as observed behaviors in others.

When reconsidering *liking*, it is important to examine how people tend to want to be "right" over being accurate. This is to say that persuasive requests that have desirable status consequences for an individual and his group may be accepted and acted upon despite incompatibilities regarding the "truth" of their situation. Marketing research supports the conclusion that people desire and purchase a product based on its promises to deliver a greater desired status (e.g., youth, beauty, popularity, respect, virility, etc.). This is why advertising promotions feature attractive and youthful models in ideal

⁴³⁵ Laura King, "Afghan Anger Over Koran Burning an Emblem of Nation's Culture War," in *Los Angeles Times Online*, 25 February 2013, <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/feb/25/world/la-fg-afghanistan-koran-20120226>.

circumstances; the underlying message is that the product possesses transferrable qualities that can be unlocked by acquiescence (purchase), regardless of the individual's actual reality.

As for *scarcity*, it seems worthwhile considering the influence opportunities within persuasive request rejections. The relationship management literature suggests that at some level, people recognize that everyone is a potential future partner, even those they initially reject. Therefore, it is likely individuals are observing and mentally recording how the persuader behaves in the disengagement for clues as to how he would behave when there is a next engagement. Reciprocity still applies. A persuader responding with civility to an individual's rejection still sets up an obligation for reciprocal civility and possibly reciprocal concessions when there is a next engagement; this represents an advantage for the persuader.

2. Sustaining Influence

The literature continues to support this thesis' initial hypothesis: social influence efforts that utilize cumulative, small-scale behavioral acts of compliance can generate self-sustaining behaviors that adjust long-term compliance and beliefs. Repetition continues to play a key role. In marketing, repetition creates familiarity. The literature reflects a direct correlation between familiarity and consumer preference. This has a lot to do with the overwhelming number of brand and model choices available. Familiarity represents a heuristic, an automatic choice-response that enables the person to eliminate the anxiety and effort of having to risk trying a different solution and failing every time a similar decision needs to be made. There is an interesting debate in the literature about optimal repetition. Some academics suggest that after a certain number of repetitions, the message's novelty begins to wane, allowing new "novel" messages to out-compete the old message for the person's limited attention.⁴³⁶ This would support why the literature suggests deliberately incorporating small successive changes to maintain interest levels.

⁴³⁶ Gerald J. Gorn and Marvin E. Goldberg, "Children's Responses to Repetitive Television Commercials," in *Journal of Consumer Research* 6, no. 4 (1980): 421–424.

The base concept behind relationship marketing offers a significant opportunity to extract more enduring influence. Exchange relationships based on perceived benevolence and uniqueness generate strong feelings of gratitude that can evolve into internalized obligations *cum* loyalty. Loyalty is relatively self-sustaining; it does not rest on equal and sequential tit-for-tat exchanges. In fact, in intimate exchanges, the gifts become inconsequential; the symbolic intent becomes the exchanged value. This suggests that relationship development allows a persuader to use less “valuable” resources to secure the more valued precedent for likely future and enduring compliance. The literature also suggests that once developed, loyalty allows the persuader to request a broader range of behaviors. Loyalty-driven behavior is not contingent on the “gift” context that facilitated the original growth of fealty.

A final suggestion drawn from the relationship management literature concerns switching costs. One of the targets of marketing and loyalty programs is to increase the costs for switching to competing products or services. Switching costs can be thought of as future loss potential. Marketing strategists understand that by getting people to incur small-scale behavioral investments of time and effort, companies can leverage the aggregate input to deter an individual from starting again with someone or something else. This is the basic effect generated by use of iTunes. Each 99 cent song purchase increases the future loss potential for starting again should the user switch to a competing non-compatible format. In isolation, each song seems insignificant, but before long the total of small investments seems too large to risk when considered in aggregate. With each additional purchase the cost of switching increases, and so the consumer continues with the status quo out of an aversion to loss.

V. INFLUENCE TENSIONS

There are three primary sources of tension that may undermine persuasion/compliance efforts: psychological, practical, and ethical. These challenges reflect significant forces that may interfere with the individual's attention, his motivation to change, and his acceptance of the offered solution. These same forces can also impede the persuader's freedom of maneuver. As has been revealed throughout the previous chapters, indirectly coopting tensions seems to offer a more successful strategy than attempting to defeat them directly. This chapter reviews less-explored, but still significant hurdles to successful persuasion and considers their implications for improving influence attempts.

A. PSYCHOLOGICAL

The individual's information processing system "naturally" biases his attention and perception in predictable ways. These cognitive effects can either assist or detract from efforts to leverage the psychological principles that seem to govern most everyday decision-making. The psychology, propaganda, and marketing literatures reveal three prominent sources of psychological tension: reactance, anxiety coping, and increased systematic thought. This section examines these "effective" psychological sources of tension in greater depth.

1. Reactance

In 1966 Jack Brehm published his theory of psychological reactance, which contends that people react negatively to perceived loss of expected freedoms. This includes threats to an individual's ability to freely assert identity-independence. In fact, individuals often tend to purposefully and energetically pursue the very behavioral freedoms that are explicitly threatened by the persuasive request. This reaction poses a significant challenge to influence efforts because the goal of persuasive communication is to ultimately solicit a specific desired behavioral change. But, because acquiescing to a persuasive request is to eliminate potential options (freedoms), the individual is

inherently prone to exhibit reactance unless other existing compliance motivations are stronger.⁴³⁷

There are two dominant mediators that determine the strength of the reactance imperative: expectation for and perceived value of the threatened freedom. According to Prospect theory, people in a “gains” frame of mind are more motivated to avoid a potential loss than they are to risk acquiring an equal potential gain.⁴³⁸ The correlate suggested by reactance theory is that the greater the expectation for having a freedom, the greater will be the individual’s anticipated value-loss for losing that freedom; this generates a proportionally strong motivation to be reactive.⁴³⁹ However, not all freedoms are valued equally. Mona Clee and Robert Wicklund comment that “a threat that carries implications for future threats generates more reactance than does a simple, isolated threat.”⁴⁴⁰ Brehm makes a similar, but more specific argument; the individual’s conception of implied threats, the broad range of associated freedoms that he imagines will be threatened by a reduction of choice, significantly elevates the individual’s perceived potential loss.⁴⁴¹ These two perception antecedents greatly determine whether the reactance motivation is strong enough to out-compete the various other compliance motivations, such as obtaining increased status or repaying a favor.

Persuasive appeals that seek to leverage a person’s valued identities can also trigger reactance. In “Escaping the Crosshairs: Reactance to Identity Marketing,” Amit Bhattacharjee et al. note that leveraging customers’ valued identities has proven successful in marketing appeals, but if done too intrusively, people tend to exhibit reactance. “Messages that merely reference consumer identity increase purchase

437 Jack W. Brehm, “Psychological Reactance: Theory and Applications,” in *NA – Advances in Consumer Research Volume 16*, eds. Thomas K Strull (Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research), 72–75.

438 Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, “Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision Under Risk,” in *Econometrica: Journal of the Econometric Society* 47, no. 2 (1979): 263–291.

439 Mona A. Clee and Robert A. Wicklund, “Consumer Behavior and Psychological Reactance,” in *Journal of Consumer Research* 6, no. 4 (1980): 390.

440 Clee et al, “Consumer Behavior and Psychological Reactance,” 392.

441 Brehm, “Psychological Reactance,” 72.

likelihood, but messages that [seek to] define the terms of consumer identity expression actually reduce purchase likelihood.”⁴⁴² This suggests that the individual reacts negatively to his perceived loss of freedom to choose and to change the defining characteristics of his identity. In another marketing study on reactance, this one investigating irritation with Internet pop-up ads, Steven Edwards et al. argue that persuasive appeals are judged by their intrusiveness. The three factors that the individual most uses to qualify intrusiveness are: the intensity of the cognitive effort that the appeal interrupts, the relevancy of the appeal, and the perceived value of the appeal.⁴⁴³ “To the degree that advertising does not provide value, it may be perceived as coercive and unwelcome.”⁴⁴⁴ The overall reactance findings on message source attribution (good or bad) reinforces the premise that indirect persuasion, encouraging the individual to “self-realize” the desired behavior change, decreases the likelihood of reactance. The findings also point to the benefit of persuasive appeals that create an exchange relationship, where some “true” value is provided, resulting in more long-lasting attention and more favorable consideration of the appeal in the short- and long-term.

2. Coping

The three fundamental steps of a successful persuasion attempt are to gain the individual’s attention, motivate him to change, and facilitate the preferred behavioral solution. To motivate the individual is to convince him that his status quo is no longer sufficient, and that his situation (status) is at risk. This situation-uncertainty creates anxiety, which, up to a certain threshold, motivates him to seek, “listen,” and accept information suggesting particular solutions. However, too much stress can trigger counterproductive coping mechanisms that increase resistance to current and near-future persuasive appeals.

442 Amit Bhattacharjee, Jonah Berger, and Geeta Menon, “Escaping the Crosshairs: Reactance to Identity Marketing,” Dissertation Essay, in review for publish by *Journal of Consumer Research*, accessed 14 March 2013, <https://marketing.wharton.upenn.edu/files/?whdmsaction=public>.

443 Steven Edwards, Hairong Li, and Joo-Hyun Lee, “Forced Exposure and Psychological Reactance: Antecedents and Consequences of the Perceived Intrusiveness of Pop-up Ads,” in *Journal of Advertising* 31, no. 3 (2002): 92.

444 Edwards et al., “Forced Exposure and Psychological Reactance,” 85.

Threats (stressors) perceived as insurmountable or unmanageable can evoke psychological and practical defense measures that ultimately decrease the individual's attention and motivation to change. "The [individual's] coping process involves selecting and implementing various strategies intended to reduce stress and improve well-being."⁴⁴⁵ Charles Carver et al. in "Assessing Coping Strategies" describe two basic categories of coping: problem-focused and emotion-focused. The individual uses both to varying degrees to respond to anxiety-stress. "Problem-focused coping tends to predominate when people feel that something constructive can be done, whereas emotion-focused coping tends to predominate when people feel that the stressor is something that must be endured."⁴⁴⁶ This suggests that persuasion efforts are better served by an individual practicing problem-focused coping because he is still receptive to external messaging and to changing his behavior.

Emotion-focused coping favors the individual, not the persuader. If the stress seems too acute, the individual may seek to reconstruct reality, to undermine the validity and salience of stress. "Efforts to cognitively reconstruct reality may involve repressing, distorting, or denying undesirable aspects of the situation."⁴⁴⁷ In "Examination of Psychological Processes Underlying Resistance to Persuasion," Rohini Ahluwalia finds three dominant mechanisms that the individual psychologically employs to change reality to reduce uncertainty: deny the facts, deny their broader implication, and deny their significance.⁴⁴⁸ The individual does not have to change because he has reduced the significance of the stress below his threshold of needing to act. The effects of emotion-based coping suggest that it is advantageous for persuasive appeals to ensure the targets believe that there are feasible solutions and that they are within his capability to carry out.

445 Jeffrey R. Edwards, "A Cybernetic Theory of Stress, Coping, and Well-being in Organizations," in *The Academy of Management Review* 17, no. 2 (1992): 253.

446 Charles S. Carver, Jagdish K. Weintraub, and Michael F. Scheier, "Assessing Coping Strategies: A Theoretically Based Approach," in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56, no. 2 (1989): 267.

447 Edwards, "A Cybernetic Theory of Stress, Coping, and Well-being in Organizations," 253.

448 Rohini Ahluwalia, "Examination of Psychological Processes Underlying Resistance to Persuasion," in *Journal of Consumer Research* 27, no. 2 (2000): 218.

Experience with being persuaded can also increase the individual's resistance to future compliance with those techniques, but not necessarily with their underlying principles. In "The Persuasion Knowledge Model: How People Cope with Persuasion Attempts," Marian Friestad and Peter Wright argue that individuals draw on different sources of knowledge when faced with uncertainty, including knowledge of previous persuasive tactics.⁴⁴⁹ For evidence, they cite studies concerning the decline in effectiveness of direct comparison advertising over time, and the idea that consumers come to form an opinion based on their experience about when it is most and least advantageous to heed this ad type.⁴⁵⁰ Robert Cialdini, in *Influence*, repeatedly recommends technique-awareness as one way to decrease the individual's susceptibility to unwanted influence.⁴⁵¹ Along similar lines, Margaret Campbell and Amna Kirmani find that previous persuasive knowledge stimulates suspicion and sensitivity to the ulterior motives of a persuader. "If a consumer infers that the salesperson's [flattery remarks] are motivated by persuasion, the consumer is likely to perceive the salesperson as less sincere."⁴⁵²

Sincerity is a component of source credibility, which has already been shown to have a significant impact on message credibility. The findings on persuasion awareness further suggest an advantage for repetitive persuasive communications that employ incremental format adjustments to maintain audience attention and decrease the speed with which the technique comes to be identified as patently extrinsic persuasion. Jacques Ellul, however, points out that suspicion can create an opportunity for influence (propaganda). People take the attitude, "'believe nothing that the enemy says because

449 Marian Friestad and Peter Wright, "The Persuasion Knowledge Model: How People Cope with Persuasion Attempts," in *Journal of Consumer Research* 21, no. 1 (1994): 3.

450 Friestad et al., "The Persuasion Knowledge Model," 24.

451 Cialdini, *Influence*, 45, 89, 131, 170, 191, 221.

452 Margaret C. Campbell and Amna Kirmani, "Consumers' Use of Persuasion Knowledge: The Effects of Accessibility and Cognitive Capacity on Perceptions of an Influence Agent," in *Journal of Consumer Research* 27, no. 1 (2000): 70.

everything he says is necessarily untrue.’ But if the enemy can [credibly] demonstrate that he has told the truth, a sudden turn in his favor will result.”⁴⁵³

3. Systematic Evaluation

The more systematically an individual processes a persuasive communication, the less likely he is to comply based on the non-message content, such as the reputation and appearance of the message source. Systematic processing is a “comprehensive, analytic orientation in which perceivers access and scrutinize all informational input for its relevance and importance to their judgment task, and integrate all useful information in forming their judgments.”⁴⁵⁴ Most marketing techniques, as reviewed by Cialdini, depend on leveraging the individual using predominantly heuristics-based decision-making. This would seem to suggest that influence techniques work better when persuaders can prevent the individual from engaging in more deliberate and controlled thought. However, as noted in Chapter II, behavior resulting from systematic thought is more likely to be internalized and therefore more likely to be repeated in future similar circumstances.

Serena Chen et al. argue that an individual’s motivation for accuracy is one of his primary determinants for shifting to more systematic examination.⁴⁵⁵ “Systematic processing is likely when the gap between actual and desired levels of judgmental confidence is widened.”⁴⁵⁶ This suggests that messages that persuade by source cues should avoid activating the person’s desire for increased accuracy or should decrease the individual’s confidence in his current decision-making sufficiency.⁴⁵⁷

453 Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 52.

454 Shelly Chaiken, Akiva Liberman, and Alice Eagly, “Heuristic and Systematic Information Processing Within and Beyond the Persuasion Context,” in *Unintended Thought*, eds. James S. Uleman and John A. Bargh (New York: The Guilford Press, 1989), 212.

455 Serena Chen, Kimberly Duckworth, and Shelly Chaiken, “Motivated Heuristic and Systematic Processing,” in *Psychological Inquiry* 10, no. 1 (1999): 44.

456 Chen et al., “Motivated Heuristic and Systematic Processing,” 45.

457 Alexander Todorov, Shelly Chaiken, and Marlone E. Henderson, “The Heuristic-Systematic Model of Social Information Processing,” in *The Persuasion Handbook: Developments in Theory and Practice*, eds. James P. Dillard and Michael Pfau (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), 201.

B. ETHICAL

A group's dominant ethical judgment provides critical clues as to how members may attribute positive or negative perceptual bias to a persuader and his message. This affects the group's likelihood of complying with a departure from their already ethically-based status quo. In this section, I examine several ethical sources of practical and philosophical tension that can affect the short and long-term success of compliance efforts. Reputation, responsibility, and self-restraint are three important factors that have a significant ability to affect the individual's perception and the persuader's freedom of persuasive maneuver.

1. Reputation

A reputation for or an association with unethical behavior, which is behavior that goes against culturally accepted norms, increases the individual's doubts about the persuader's motives, which in turn decreases message source credibility. Richard Stillwell, writing on the "American View of Psychological Warfare," notes that Americans have historically distrusted the purveyors of deliberate influence.⁴⁵⁸ Walter Jajko, writing on America's hesitancy to employ strategic deception in war found something similar; Americans feel any "deception is sinister and, therefore suspect."⁴⁵⁹ Ralph White notes that "to a great many people the word propaganda [automatically] implies something morally evil."⁴⁶⁰ The research for this thesis has so far supported the idea that a persuader's success significantly depends on his reputational credibility. In modern society, in which people increasingly rely on trusting efficient decision-making heuristics, message source credibility is generally accepted as sufficient to vouch for message content credibility.

458 Richard Stillwell, "Political-Psychological Dimensions of Counterinsurgency," 321.

459 Walter Jajko, "Deception: Appeal for Acceptance; Discourse on Doctrine; Preface to Planning," in *Comparative Strategy* 21 (2002): 351.

460 Ralph K. White, "Propaganda: Morally Questionable and Morally Unquestionable Techniques," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 398 (1971): 27.

The individual's ethical doubts about the persuader induce the individual to more systematically examine the persuasive request, which can reduce his "confidence" in conclusions that require departing from his status quo. "People distrust 'professional' persuaders because they believe...that too often those persuaders are attempting to manipulate them in ways that are 'detrimental to ...[their] own preferences, interests, or well-being.'"⁴⁶¹ This supports the notion that presenting and maintaining a positive ethical reputation is not just a philosophical luxury, but a practical factor in gaining and sustaining positive credibility.

The persuader's doubts about what constitutes legitimate ethical persuasion can cause the persuader either to fail to consider, or to refrain from employing, the full range of acceptable influence techniques, which decreases his likelihood of success. In "Propaganda: Morally Questionable and Morally Unquestionable Techniques," White comments that inappropriate guilt for using certain persuasive tactics detracts from their legitimate use. He suggests that the persuader's basic litmus test for questionable practices is "if a persuader takes advantage of the ignorance or gullibility of an audience to present the picture that he himself –consciously or semiconsciously– recognizes as distorted his doing so is regarded here as deceptive."⁴⁶² This, along with the impacts of the individual's ethical doubts, suggests that it is critical for persuaders to fully understand the target culture's ethical boundaries. Even if the desired consequences of a persuasive request seem to justify more liberal means, the negative reaction of the audience to the persuader's means may destroy his credibility and his ability to achieve his immediate and future ends.

2. Responsibility

Both the target and the persuasive agent have information processing responsibilities: the individual to apply due diligence to validate the proposal, and the persuader to persuade within the norms of society. Probably the most important, but

⁴⁶¹ Sherry Baker and David L. Martinson, "The TARES Test: Five Principles for Ethical Persuasion," in *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 16, no. 2 and 3 (2001): 154.

⁴⁶² White, "Propaganda," 28.

unresolvable question is, “what is the point at which these players are absolved of their respective responsibilities in the persuasive exchange?” Since cultural and societal norms reflect situational adjustments, the culturally accepted limits of ethical persuasion are likewise in constant flux. This explains why legally defined ethical limits, which are codified, transferable, and relatively stable, are predominately used, at least in the United States, to judge the persuader’s activities and to put the onus on consumers of “buyer beware.”⁴⁶³

Baker and Martinson suggest “persuasive claims should not be made beyond the persuadee’s ability to understand both the context and underlying motivations and claims of the persuader.”⁴⁶⁴ The American Marketing Association Code of Ethics is specifically persuader-oriented; marketers must “accept the consequences of our marketing decisions and strategies” and that these actions are based on truth and meet the customer’s valid expectations.⁴⁶⁵ Richard Johannesen in “Perspectives on Ethics in Persuasion” concurs that both parties have responsibilities; specifically, the persuadee has the duty to practice “reasoned skepticism.”⁴⁶⁶ Cialdini argues that advances in information technology and its resulting deluge of daily decision requests have made it unrealistic to expect the individual to rationally examine all of his choices, placing the onus on the persuader.⁴⁶⁷ Beyond the philosophical issues of the ethical rights and wrongs of applied persuasion, these statements underscore the importance of managing expectations to increase the likelihood of securing immediate and enduring compliance. Even the most well-intentioned and “ethical” persuader can fail to persuade in the short run and destroy his credibility in the long run if the target audience feels betrayed, perceiving that the persuader created false expectations.

⁴⁶³ John F. Gaski, “Does Marketing Ethics Really Have Anything to Say? A Critical Inventory of the Literature,” in *Journal of Business Ethics* 18, no 3 (1999): 330.

⁴⁶⁴ Baker et al., “The TARES Test,” 166.

⁴⁶⁵ Gaski, “Does Marketing Ethics Really Have Anything to Say?,” 329.

⁴⁶⁶ Richard L. Johannesen, “Perspectives on Ethics in Persuasion,” in *Persuasion: Reception and Responsibility 12th Edition* (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2010), 46.

⁴⁶⁷ Cialdini, *Influence*, 234.

3. Restraint

Persuasion, by most accepted definitions in communications ethics, becomes unethical when it no longer allows for moral agency and fails to adhere to the principles of social trust and veracity. Rapid advances in the social and neurological sciences are revealing an ever greater understanding of the biological and cognitive processes that are involved with perception and decision-making. Commercial marketers are seemingly incorporating every feasible advance to obtain or maintain their competitive advantage. The study by Pearl Martin et al. reveals that “moderate amounts of caffeine increase systematic processing of the arguments in the message resulting in greater agreement.”⁴⁶⁸ The study by Joseph Bellizzi et al. demonstrates that certain colors increase consumer attraction to products.⁴⁶⁹ Gordon Bruner, in a review of sound research and application in marketing, maintains that manipulation of pitch, tempo, and volume can alter the moods of consumers in ways that increase their likelihood of purchase.⁴⁷⁰ One result is that Silent Sounds Inc. has patented a subliminal carrier technology that can “analyze human emotional EEG patterns and replicate them, then store these ‘emotion signature clusters’ on another computer and, at will, ‘silently induce and change the emotional state in a human being.’”⁴⁷¹

The enduring ethical tension between scientific advances and human sensibilities suggests that persuaders should calculate the benefits of employing certain persuasive attempts against the likely negative consequences should their influence actions be

468 Pearl Y. Martin, Victoria E. Hamilton, Blake M. McKimmie, Deborah J. Terry, and Robin Martin, “Effects of Caffeine on Persuasion and Attitude Change: The Role of Secondary Tasks in Manipulating Systematic Message Processing,” in *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37, no. 2 (2007): 320–338.

469 Joseph A. Bellizzi, Ayn E. Crowley, and Ronald W. Hasty, “The Effects of Color in Store Design,” in *Journal of Retailing* 59, no. 1 (1983): 21–45.

470 Gordon C. Bruner, “Music, Mood, and Marketing,” in *American Marketing Association* 54, no. 4 (1990): 94–104.

471 United States Patent Office, “Silent Subliminal Presentation System,” Patent Number: 5,159,703, Patent Holder: Oliver M. Lowery; see also Richard A. Miller, “Synthetic Telepathy and the Early Mind Wars,” presented at the Consciousness Technologies Conference, July 2001, <http://www.earthpulse.com/epulseuploads/articles/syntelepathy.pdf>; and see 123 Seminars Online, “Silent Sound Technology,” accessed 21 March 2013, <http://www.123seminarsonly.com/EC/Silent-Sound-Technology.html>

publicly exposed. Any “publicity” check serves the function of an ethical meter. For instance, prisoner handling techniques undertaken at Abu Ghraib Prison (Iraq), purportedly to achieve compliance through humiliation did not withstand the ethical test of public knowledge. Had the interrogators kept this publicity test in mind, they would have likely sought either official sanction or they would have discontinued their insular line of problem solving.⁴⁷² This aspect of meta-cognition points to an important conclusion: the most significant public judgment may come from the persuader’s own nation, organization, or social group, and not from those of the target audience.

The persuader can look to several ethical decision-making frameworks to evaluate the potential for negative ethical judgments by both his home society and his target audience. According to two prominent schools of ethical thought, actions are either judged by their consequences or by their methods. Utilitarians, like John Stuart Mills, argue that ethical actions are those that achieve the greatest consequences for the greatest number of people.⁴⁷³ Deontologists, like Immanuel Kant, argue that ethical actions are those that treat people as an ends, never as a means.⁴⁷⁴ The most familiar form of principled behavior is the Golden Rule found in the major religions, which is encapsulated in the question, “did you treat others in the way in which you would want to be treated?” Rushworth M. Kidder’s in *How Good People Make Tough Choices* offers a nine-point checklist for assessing ethical decision-making. It specifically asks the individual to vet his prospective action against the likely reactions of people, such as his mother and members of his peer groups.⁴⁷⁵ Sensitivities to ethical transgressions suggest that persuaders who imbue their messages with the key symbols associated with the target culture’s dominant ethical paradigm can not only decrease resistance to the message request, but also decrease credibility-damaging claims of unethical behavior

472 Steven Strasser, *The Abu Ghraib Investigations: The Official Reports of the Independent Panel and the Pentagon on the Shocking Prisoner Abuse in Iraq*, ed. Steven Strasser, introduction by Craig R. Whitney (New York: PublicAffairs LLC, 2004).

473 John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism* (Raleigh, NC: Hayes Barton Press, 1939).

474 Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals*, edited and translated by Allen W. Wood (Branford, CT: Yale University, 2002).

475 Rushworth M. Kidder, *How Good People Make Tough Choices* (New York: Harper, 2003), 182.

should the persuasive attempt come to be publicly perceived as consisting of unwarranted influence.

C. PRACTICAL

An individual's motivated opposition to being influenced is the single greatest practical tension to gaining non-coercive compliance. The literature consistently reveals benefits to be gained by mitigating the individual's active defenses, most effectively by coopting his natural beliefs and behaviors and stimulating his self-conceived need to change. In the literature, we also see broad agreement that it is extremely difficult to predict the individual's micro-responses to influence efforts. This is because each individual has a unique character. This is the "elephant in the room;" how does culture affect the universal applicability of influence principles? In this section, I consider that.

1. Cultural Differences

Perhaps the most dominant argument against a definitive list of universal governing psycho-social principles of human behavior is the fact that most research has been conducted in the U.S. on U.S. citizens, or more broadly conducted in the West on Westerners. As the body of cross-cultural marketing research slowly adds clarity to this issue, several early observations seem to dominate the literature. The first is that humans, across different cultures, exhibit the same basic dual-information processing framework (e.g., Chaiken et al.'s Heuristic-Systematic Model, Petty et al. Elaboration Likelihood Model). The study conducted by Jennifer Aaker et al. in "The Effect of Cultural Orientation on Persuasion" found that cultural differences that had persuasive impact came predominantly as a result of differing cultural perceptions of symbolic cues (words, symbols, actions).⁴⁷⁶ This suggests that cultural differentiation does not necessarily negate the six governing principles, only that the cues that trigger automatic response patterns differ subtly. As an example, the study by Sejung Choi et al., "Lessons from the Rich and Famous: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Celebrity Endorsement,"

⁴⁷⁶ Jennifer L. Aaker and Durairaj Maheswaran, "The Effect of Cultural Orientation on Persuasion," in *The Journal of Consumer Research* 24, no. 3 (1997): 326.

demonstrates that the *authority* (expert) principle remains persuasively strong across both individualist and collectivist societies, but that each society type is more persuaded by celebrities who “embody a collection of [their] culturally relevant images, symbols, and values.”⁴⁷⁷ For the persuader, this suggests the critical need to know one’s audience and to conduct a “psychological” profile tailored to identifying the dominant cues associated with each of the six governing principles.

a. Individualist/Collectivist

The second observation made in recent research focuses on the likely impacts of individualist versus collectivist societies, considered to be one of the most significant factors in cultural variability.⁴⁷⁸ Researchers generally find that individualists “tend to be concerned with separating one’s self from others, displaying qualities of uniqueness...Collectivists tend to be concerned with affiliating with close others, maintaining connectedness, and blending the self/other boundary.”⁴⁷⁹ The broad supposition is that these culturally-based predilections would lead collectivist societies to be relatively more prone to influence by social conformity principles, such as *social proof*, and individualist societies to be relatively more prone to influence by internal conformity principles, such as *consistency and commitment*. The study by Robert Cialdini, Wilhelmina Wosinska, et al. in “Compliance with a Request in Two Cultures” confirms this hypothesis, noting that in a collectivist society, an individual’s past behavior is less important in directing current behavior than is the “will” of the collective. But, they add, that “irrespective of nationality, collectivists [whether in a collectivist or individualist society] were more influenced by their peers’ compliance histories and

477 Sejung M. Choi, Wei-Na Lee, and Hee-Jung Kim, “Lessons from the Rich and Famous: A Cross-cultural Comparison of Celebrity Endorsement in Advertising,” in *Journal of Advertising* 34, no. 2 (2005): 86.

478 Refer to Sang-Pil Han and Sharon Shavitt, “Persuasion and Culture: Advertising Appeals in Individualistic and Collectivistic Societies,” in *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 30 (1994): 326–326; see also Geert Hofstede, *Culture’s Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values, Volume 5* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1980).

479 Jennifer L. Aaker and Patti Williams, “Empathy versus Pride: The Influence of Emotional Appeals Across Cultures,” in *Journal of Consumer Research* 25, no. 3 (1998): 242.

individualists were more influenced by their own compliance histories.”⁴⁸⁰ Chingching Chang in “Seeing the Small Picture: Ad-self versus Ad-Culture Congruency in International Advertising” argues similarly that regardless of whether the society is deemed collectivist, the individual is more responsive to ads that are most congruent with his personal values.⁴⁸¹ Jennifer Aaker provides additional depth to the concept of blurred cultural boundaries. She argues that “individuals in any culture possess multiple selves [(identities)] that can be activated at any point in time.”⁴⁸² Albert Bandura notes “cultures are no longer insular. Transnational interdependencies and global economic forces are weakening social and cultural normative systems.”⁴⁸³ This is an extremely important concept for discussing the cross-cultural relevancy of psychological principles revealed by predominantly American or Western-centric research. It would suggest that everyone, in any culture, has both individualist and collectivist role-identities. This suggests that the real challenge for intercultural persuasion is how to activate the “right” role-identities in any given situation, identities that are the most susceptible to the available persuasive techniques.

b. Context Richness

The third observation seen in recent research is that persuasion effectiveness is significantly affected by how a culture values context. Edward T. Hall developed the concept of evaluating cultures based on the idea of message context. People in low context cultures “compartmentalize their personal relationships, their work, and many aspects of day-to-day life. Consequently, each time they interact with others

480 Robert Cialdini, Wilhelmina Wosinska, Daniel W. Barrett, Jonathan Butner, and Malgorzata Gornik-Durose, “Compliance with a Request in Two Cultures: The Differential Influence of Social Proof and Commitment/Consistency on Collectivists and Individualists,” in *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 25, no. 10 (1999): 1250.

481 Chingching Chang, “Seeing the Small Picture: Ad-self versus Ad-Culture Congruency in International Advertising,” in *Journal of Business and Psychology* 20, no. 3 (2006): 446.

482 Jennifer Aaker, “Accessibility or Diagnosticity? Disentangling the Influence of Culture on Persuasion Processes and Attitudes?,” in *Journal of Consumer Research* 26, no. 4 (2000): 341.

483 Albert Bandura, “Social Cognitive Theory: An Agentic Perspective,” in *Annual Review of Psychology* 52 (2001): 16.

they need detailed background information.”⁴⁸⁴ This means that people in low-context cultures (the U.S., Britain, and Germany) assign a higher value to explicit message content than do members of high-context cultures. Individuals in high-context cultures (Japan, Arab nations) are less concerned with the actual message and more concerned with its implication (the context). Similarly, Jae Jung and James Kellaris in “Cross-national Differences in Proneness to Scarcity Effects” attribute the persuasive “power” of the *scarcity* principle to differences in context valuation, with people in low context cultures being relatively more motivated by scarcity advertising messaging than those in higher context cultures.⁴⁸⁵ The literature supports the view that the principle of *scarcity* is active across cultures, but appears to be relatively less effective in higher than lower context cultures. This makes sense if one assumes that the predominant motivator of the scarcity principle is the threat of individuals losing opportunity, something that should be relatively less important in a collective culture.

c. Universal Values

The identification of universal values indicates the existence of corresponding universal motivations to preserve these values. Threats to a universal value should evoke some degree of common protective reaction, an effort to reconstitute the status quo concerning values. If a reaction or preservation reaction becomes common enough, then those behaviors should eventually become heuristic decision shortcuts. As the heuristic response is repeated, the persuasion expert should be able to identify the most salient trigger cues. According to Cialdini, these cues can be used to elicit behaviors out of context to increase an individual’s likely compliance with an embedded request.

Kidder relates that one such universal value is the sanctity of truly personal property, that in every culture in the world, if one were to walk up, take

484 Edward T. Hall and Mildred R. Hall, “Key Concepts: Underlying Structures of Culture,” in *International Management Behavior*, ed. HW Lane, JJ Di Stefano and ML Maznevski (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 200.

485 Jae M. Jung and James J. Kellaris, “Cross-national Differences in Proneness to Scarcity Effects: The Moderating Roles of Familiarity, Uncertainty Avoidance, and Need for Cognitive Closure,” in *Psychology and Marketing* 21, no. 9 (2004): 740.

something from an individual without asking (e.g., the bowl of food they are eating from), and then run away with it, the affronted individual would react out of a universal instinct that the action was wrong.⁴⁸⁶ In other words, *Thou shalt not steal*. Margaret Radin in “Property and Personhood” argues that this sense of property ownership is a core component of human identity; “to be a person an individual needs some control over resources in the external environment.”⁴⁸⁷ A universal value for “ownership” would seem to support the universality of the Endowment Effect, which once an individual conceives “ownership” of something, its value to the individual instantly increases. This observation suggests that the argument for the universality of the six psycho-social principles may be improved by identifying the underlying foundational link to *reciprocity*, as embodied in the Golden Rule.

2. Competition

In cognitive terms, the resolution of stimulus competition results in the individual’s allocation and concentration of attention and perception, both of which are finite resources. Although attention is not absolutely zero-sum, Jonathan Cohen et al. note the “winner-take-all character of perceptual processes, in which the alternative that best satisfies the combined constraints imposed by bottom-up and top-down influences becomes most active and suppresses all competitors.”⁴⁸⁸ This seems to suggest an advantage to the competing persuasive message that most rapidly and with greatest salience represents the best, most sufficient solution to the created uncertainty. This assumption takes us back to the *anchoring* heuristic, which explains that individuals give greater weight to what comes to mind first. In part, this is because the “first” becomes the contrast basis for evaluating the competing proposals and thus the home field advantage tends to favor the anchor.

486 Kidder, *How Good People Make Tough Choices*, 87.

487 Margaret J. Radin, “Property and Personhood,” in *Stanford Law Review* 34, no. 5 (1982): 957.

488 Jonathan D. Cohen, David Servan-Schreiber, and James L. McClelland, “A Parallel Distributed Processing Approach to Automaticity,” in *The American Journal of Psychology* 105, no. 2 (1992): 252.

The competition between opposing persuasive requests, those for and against a specific behavior, increases the individual's attention and motivation for engaging in more systematic examination. This makes sense; if something an individual considers routine and relatively unimportant suddenly has strong competition this signals that perhaps the "routine" has blinded one to more valuable alternatives. Prospect theory, as previously discussed, argues that individuals will err on the side of loss avoidance when in a domain of gains, and be more risk acceptant when in a domain of losses. Anthony Pratkanis and Anthony Greenwald in "Consumer Involvement, Message Attention, and the Persistence of Persuasive Impact in a Message-Dense Environment" argue that when individuals are faced with opposing arguments concerning a particular behavior, they may experience a strong *negativity bias*, paying greater attention to "messages presenting negative information given that they seek to avoid making mistakes."⁴⁸⁹ This suggests that it is beneficial to expend at least some percentage of the total message content to discredit the opposition versus solely trumpeting the virtues of one's own persuasive behavioral solution.

The degree of competition intensity for winning individuals' allegiance can affect the comparative value of unintended sub-arguments. Hubert Gatignon in "Competition as a Moderator of the Effect of Advertising on Sales" argues that intense competing messages for a behavior "not only might cancel each other out, but also might redirect the consumer's attention to a prime variable that differentiates the advertisers;"⁴⁹⁰ he uses the example of price. In terms of the broader implications of persuasive appeals, this suggests that persuaders should "war game" the component arguments of the opposition against their own arguments to anticipate which ones will likely cancel each other out. Elimination of primary arguments makes second and third order sub-arguments become disproportionately more valued by the target in his decision-making. In other words,

⁴⁸⁹ Anthony R. Pratkanis and Anthony G. Greenwald, "Consumer Involvement, Message Attention, and the Persistence of Persuasive Impact in a Message-Dense Environment," in *Psychology and Marketing* 10, no. 4 (1993): 323.

⁴⁹⁰ Hubert Gatignon, "Competition as a Moderator of the Effect of Advertising on Sales," in *Journal of Marketing Research* 21, no. 4 (1984): 387.

pursuing a deliberately crafted “relative advantage” may be more productive than seeking to win in direct competition.

D. CHAPTER DISCUSSION

This chapter has examined the psychology, propaganda, and marketing literature to identify sources of prominent tension that seem to significantly affect a person’s likelihood of complying with an explicit or implicit behavior request. Arguably, the most problematic source of tension is an individual’s awareness and motivated resistance to a persuasive appeal. To sidestep this hurdle, the literature generally endorses the application of circumspect influence: namely, leading the individual to “self-conceive” a need to change and “self-conceive” the solution for changing. Not so coincidentally, these self-conceptions would be exactly those that facilitate the persuader’s goals. Combining these observations, propaganda theorist Jacques Ellul argues that an individual who thinks himself “aware” and impenetrable to propaganda is actually the most susceptible to its long-term influence. Because the individual believes his decisions are purely of his own conception, he unhesitatingly internalizes the propaganda-influenced change into his identity, perpetuating the behavior change.

1. Psychological

Within the area of psychological tension, three cognitive reactions seem to commonly moderate the effectiveness of persuasive appeals: reactance, coping, and systematic processing. The discourse on psychological reactance, or the tendency to act contrary to a perceived threat to a freedom, suggests the importance of thoughtfully managing the individual’s expectations and his selection of judgment contrast points. The discussion on coping suggests that wielding motivational anxiety is a double-edged sword; too little and the individual ignores the imperative to change, too much and the individual rejects the change-imperative. The literature on systematic information processing, meanwhile, suggests the importance of deliberately structuring the message’s salience to overcome the individual’s likely level of message scrutiny.

2. Practical

Within the area of practical tension (beyond what has already been addressed in depth) two circumstances seem to markedly affect the persuasive strength of psychosocial principles to elicit automatic behavioral reactions: culture and competition. The literature on culture and persuasion stress the importance of psychologically profiling the target audience to fine tune persuasive appeals and strategy. There is insufficient evidence to reject Cialdini's governing psychological principles across all major cultures. However, the literature does suggest that cultures develop their own "unique" triggering cues, which may or may not be replicated in other cultures. Major cultural characteristics, such as degree of context and individualism, also seem to determine the persuasive impact of each governing principle relative to others.

Studies on competition suggest much the same; humans have limited attention and information processing capacity. As a result, individuals possess mechanisms for allocating this finite resource. The challenge for persuaders is to secure a sufficient level of attention and moderate the allocation of information processing appropriate to the persuasive technique employed. Direct competition between persuasive messages for and against a behavior tends to motivate the individual to slow down his decision-making, to systematically examine the appeal, seeking to avoid a potential unforeseen loss. This points to the potential advantage in messages that coopt or side-step competing arguments, encouraging the individual to stick with more heuristic processing.

Competing messages for the same behavior tend to cancel each other out, leaving the individual to assess a message's merit based on the secondary characteristics remaining. This suggests potential strategies to out-manuever competing arguments by ensuring the message contains strong dissimilar sub-arguments.

3. Ethical

Within the area of ethical tension, there are three dominant concerns that appear to have practical impacts on the effectiveness of persuasive appeals: reputation, responsibility, and restraint. Understanding how members of a culture perceive a persuader's actions, as ethical or unethical, provides important clues for crafting

persuasive appeals that avoid triggering defensive coping mechanisms. Good source credibility is critical for facilitating “automatic” message credibility. Individuals tend to associate a persuader’s unethical behavior in one arena as indicative of his likely habits in all arenas. This means that a reputation for unethical behavior negatively impacts the source’s overall credibility and the individual’s confidence in the appeal’s veracity.

The discussion on responsibility reflects both an internal concern for social duty and an external concern for truthfulness as a means to manage a target’s expectations. Betrayal is an extremely strong emotion that can permanently tarnish a persuader’s credibility. Persuaders should understand that if the target audience comes to regret their compliance, even if the persuader believes he acted ethically, they could develop strong emotional motivations to reject all future requests regardless of their merit; a form of *attribution bias*.

The last category, restraint, offers that the persuader’s nation, organization, or influential social groups may be the most impacting judges of ethical behavior, applying the more significant consequences for failure. Uncovering the target audience’s ethical framework provides clues to their treasured values. Implicit in this value reverence are motivations to protect, sustain, and acquire their status qualities. Knowledge of a group’s identity motivations provides the opportunity to incorporate their associated symbols into persuasive messaging.

4. Psycho-social Principles’ Sufficiency Assessment

There is a significant research gap in the literature concerning universal efficacy of the six psychosocial principles of influence. Anecdotally, this chapter’s review of tensions suggests that the principles are present in all cultures, but with two very important caveats. First, the heuristic cues for each psychological principle may differ substantially across cultures. As an example, a study on celebrity endorsements found the technique to be successful in all cultures where used; however, each culture had identified “celebrity” based on their culture’s uniquely enviable characteristics. Second, different cultures are affected more deeply by some principles over others. In predominantly collectivist societies, for example, *social proof* is relatively more

persuasive than an individual's concern for *consistency* of his past behavior. There is also a growing body of literature that suggests that global information technology, exchange, and commercialism are significantly leveling the differences between individualist and collectivist societies, that commercial activity and affluence drives collective societies to become increasingly individualistic. If this is true, then an additional component for target audience profiling should be determining the pervasiveness of commercial advertising and the state of individual affluence.

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VI. INFLUENCE PRACTICE

A cursory look across time and geography reveals innumerable examples of persuasion efforts that seem to contain the characteristics of the six principles of influence, as initially described by Robert Cialdini and broadened by this thesis' research results. The following examples are not meant as definitive proof of influence effectiveness, but rather as illustrations of the principles' presumed applications and link to underlying psychological mechanisms. To provide an all-inclusive survey would exceed the capabilities of paper and author. Instead, this section examines each principle separately, first highlighting its definition and observed practice as described by Cialdini in *Influence*. The analysis then proceeds, organized by epoch: Ancient and Medieval (recorded time until the beginning of the Middle Ages; a period that includes the foundations of the major religions), The Modern Age (from the Renaissance to Enlightenment to the advent of the Internet), and The Info Age (1990 until present). Within each time period, I provide examples from different cultures when possible. Finally, I also review examples of American commercial and political appeals, delivered by television, Internet, or print ad. The examples modestly suggest that the six influence principles have been wielded by humanity since ancient times and are not solely an invention of modern Anglo-American culture.

A. RECIPROCITY

The evolution of human society has depended in large part on the successful acculturation of trust; a covenant between giver and receiver that acts, goods, and services will be satisfactorily repaid. This principle of reciprocity is perhaps the most basic, and the strongest influencer of both good and bad social behavior. The two prominent persuasive tactics that utilize this principle, as described by Cialdini, are the application of the uninvited gift and the employment of "rejection-then-retreat."

1. Cialdini

a. *Uninvited Gift: Hari Krishna Solicitation.*

The Hari Krishnas' revenue strategy depends on the aggregate of many small "donations" culled by broad spectrum solicitation. The organization trained and stationed its members in high traffic areas, such as airports and bus terminals, to affect high contact-to-solicitor rates. Americans seem to have learned that the best way to avoid solicitation is to prevent the solicitor from initiating the pitch, by either overt avoidance or pre-emptive "no thanks." To counter this natural suspicion and aversion, the Hari Krishna focused on giving a gift of an inconsequential pencil or flower. Even when uninvited, accepting a gift, no matter how trivial, still triggers a subconscious imperative to "square" one's indebtedness. The Hare Krishna offers the person a quick "easy" solution by asking for a "trivial" donation.⁴⁹¹ Effective? At the time of his death in 2012, the "worldwide holdings [of its founder were] estimated in the billions of dollars."⁴⁹²

b. *Rejection-then-Retreat: Boy Scout Solicitation.*

Boy Scouts of America seem to recognize that most people want to say "yes;" their main obstacle to securing a yes is the customer's resistance to incurring a cost to his status quo. The Scouts, whether deliberately or not, exploit this mental conflict. Cialdini references the young scout who initiates contact with a \$5 request for circus tickets, but immediately follows up with a less "costly" option (\$1 chocolate bar) should his first appeal be denied.⁴⁹³ With the sales retreat the scout provides the individual with a "gift" in the form of a concession, an offered cost reduction. This triggers the customer's urge to reciprocate by buying at least something, anything, to not feel guilty or indebted.

⁴⁹¹ Robert Cialdini, *Influence: Science and Practice, Fifth Edition* (New York: Pearson, 2009), 25.

⁴⁹² William Reed, "The Reverend Sun Myung Moon," *Washington Informer*, 13 September 2012, <http://washingtoninformer.com/index.php/business/item/11836-the-reverend-sun-myung-moon>.

⁴⁹³ Cialdini, *Influence*, 36.

2. Ancient and Medieval Age

a. *Persia: Acculturation, 6th Century B.C.*

Around 550 B.C., Cyrus the Great, through skillful military conquest and progressive assimilation policies, created the first Persian Empire. At its time, it was the largest contiguous empire ever assembled. Historians attribute its successful stability to Cyrus' focus on instituting integrative governance solutions, extending concessional freedoms to newly conquered territories instead of expected reprisals. Despite an obvious capacity to coerce, Cyrus treated his conquests generously, tolerating and even adopting some of their distinct cultural and religious traditions into the greater empire. One well-known example, in 538 B.C. after conquering Babylon, he "allowed the Israelites to return home...ordered the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple...and committed funds from his treasury."⁴⁹⁴ As a result, the "pagan" Cyrus came to be "unconditionally praised" in the Old Testament Bible, positively cited more than 20 times.⁴⁹⁵ His practice of extending "uninvited" concessions, viewed even more magnanimously because they were non-compulsory, generated a sense of popular indebtedness to Cyrus the "liberator," rather than the conqueror. The empire he created and sustained on these policies endured for another 200 years after his death.⁴⁹⁶

b. *Greece: League of Corinth, 4th Century B.C.*

Ancient Greece practiced polytheism, the worship of an array of deities, with a constant concern for their emotional disposition resulting from their assessment of man's activities. One such judged activity, *philoxenos*, is the extension of hospitality to strangers. As Kevin O'Gorman notes in "Dimensions of Hospitality," ancient Greeks

⁴⁹⁴ Dennis Bratcher, "Old Testament History: The Persian Period and Return from Exile, 538-323," *Christian Resource Institute*, <http://www.cresourcei.org/othpersia.html>.

⁴⁹⁵ Cyrus Sorat, "Cyrus the Great," in *Cyrus the Great Online*, <http://www.cyrusthegreat.net/>.

⁴⁹⁶ Robert Guisepi, "Persia," *The International History Project Online* (2004), <http://history-world.org/persians.htm>.

could never be certain a stranger was not a god in disguise, a test. With Zeus as its patron, “hospitality was a way of honouring the Gods.”⁴⁹⁷

In 337 B.C., Philip of Macedon leveraged the principle of reciprocity, albeit in the negative, to unite the disparate warring city-states of Greece against Persia. Philip used the “destruction of Greek temples by Xerxes” to forge a shared desire for reciprocity (revenge) based on the Greeks’ dominant cross-cutting religious reverence for their shared Greek gods. His influence tactic worked; for the first time in history the greater Greek peninsula (except Sparta) united under a single ruler. This union would endure and solidify into the nucleus that enabled his son, Alexander the Great, to successfully conquer the entire Persian Empire by 334 B.C.⁴⁹⁸

c. Religion

All four of the world’s most dominant religions seek to promote the basic principle of reciprocity: repay favors in kind. The *Bible* codified the “Golden Rule” everywhere it spread. In the “Book of Luke,” Jesus advises one to “give, and it will be given to you. A good measure, pressed down, shaken together and running over, will be poured into your lap. For with the measure you use, it will be measured to you.”⁴⁹⁹ Likewise, the *Qur’an* teaches Muslims to balance expectations of repayment with a willingness to practice the same. “Woe to those... who, when they have to receive by measure from men, they demand exact full measure, but when they have to give by measure or weight to men, give less than due.”⁵⁰⁰ The Hindu rule of Dharma explains one’s duties to the universe as “one should never do that to another which one regards as injurious to one’s own self.”⁵⁰¹ In the *Udanavarga*, Buddhism similarly teaches to expect

⁴⁹⁷ Kevin D. O’Gorman, “Dimensions of Hospitality: Exploring Ancient Origins,” in *Hospitality: A Social Lens* (New York: Elsevier, 2007). 17-32.

⁴⁹⁸ Philip M. Taylor, “Propaganda in the Ancient World,” in *Munitions of the Mind* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 32.

⁴⁹⁹ *Bible*, Luke 6:38.

⁵⁰⁰ *Qur’an*, Surah 83:1–4.

⁵⁰¹ *Mahabharata*, “Anusasana Parva,” Section CXIII:8.

and practice universal reciprocity; “hurt not others in ways that you yourself would find hurtful.”⁵⁰²

3. Modern Age

a. *Paraguay: War of the Triple Alliance, 1864–1870.*

In 1864, the small South American land-locked country of Paraguay declared war on its much larger and more populous neighbor Brazil for having invaded Uruguay. In a secret pact, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay (Triple Alliance) agreed to conquer Paraguay, depose its leader, and divide up its land assets. At the end of the first year, the conflict had turned against Paraguay, and became an existential struggle.⁵⁰³ After six years, the war ended with the execution of Paraguay’s leader and with fewer than 30,000 Paraguayan males over the age of fifteen remaining.⁵⁰⁴ The Triple Alliance also claimed territorial rights to all of Paraguay. Argentina immediately pressed its full claim, while Brazil sought more modest border adjustments. Paraguay implored the U.S. to intervene.

On 12 November 1878, U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes sided with Paraguay and arbitrated the return of 60% of its pre-war lands. Paraguay named its largest territorial department in his honor and for more than 143 years has continued to celebrate an annual holiday commemorating the U.S.’s “gift” of salvation.⁵⁰⁵ During this author’s 2009 civil-military deployment to Paraguay in support of the U.S. Embassy in Asunción, many rural communities offered emotional appreciation for the United States, praising President Hayes and also President Kennedy for his Alliance for Progress

⁵⁰² *Udanavarga*, 5:18.

⁵⁰³ Federal Research Division- Library of Congress, “Paraguay: The War of the Triple Alliance,” *Country Studies*, <http://countrystudies.us/paraguay/11.htm>.

⁵⁰⁴ Economist, “Paraguay’s Awful History: The Never-ending War,” *Economist*, 22 December 2012, <http://www.economist.com/news/christmas/21568594-how-terrible-little-known-conflict-continues-shape-and-blight-nation>.

⁵⁰⁵ Peter Orsi and Pedro Servin, “Praise for Hayes in Paraguay,” *Denver Post*, 15 February 2009, http://www.denverpost.com/nationworld/ci_11707012.

donation of powdered milk during a severe drought. Paraguayans spoke as if both had just occurred in the very recent and relevant past.⁵⁰⁶

b. Philippines: World War II Support, 1942.

A similar reciprocal-driven loyalty may explain the willing sacrifices made by thousands of Filipinos to protect U.S. citizens and servicemen that remained behind after Japan's occupation of the Philippines during WWII. The American-Filipino relationship began with 30 years of U.S. colonial rule. In 1934, the U.S. offered a favor, to chaperone a 10-year transition to full independence. The U.S. sent the famed General Douglas MacArthur to oversee the Philippines' transition to autonomy. Viewing this as personally important, MacArthur "retired from the U.S. Army in 1937 and was appointed to the rank of Field Marshal in the Philippine Army," an act that signaled his personal and professional commitment to an independent and successful Philippine nation.⁵⁰⁷

Although MacArthur was reactivated to U.S. service after the Japanese December 7 attacks and ordered to retreat to Australia, he famously vowed to the Filipino people, "I shall return." During the next four years of often brutal Japanese coercive control, many Filipinos sacrificed their lives and scarce resources to supply and protect U.S. citizens. "In the prevailing anarchic situation many [Filipino] groups turned for leadership to those Americans, both military and civilian, who had somehow managed to escape capture by the Japanese."⁵⁰⁸ MacArthur did return to liberate the nation, and after the war, the U.S. fulfilled its promise, awarding it full independence on 4 July 1946. For the next 45 years, the Philippines hosted two of the U.S.'s largest Cold War bases.

⁵⁰⁶ This thesis' author deployed to Paraguay from January – November 2009 serving as a U.S. Army Civil Military Operations Officer, in support of United States Special Operations Command-South and the U.S. Embassy-Paraguay's humanitarian assistance program.

⁵⁰⁷ U.S. Navy, "General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, U.S. Army, (1880-1964)," *Naval History*, <http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/pers-us/uspers-m/macarthr.htm>.

⁵⁰⁸ David W. Hogan, *Center for Military History Publication 70-42: U.S. Army Special Operations in World War II* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Army, 1992), 70.

c. Serbia-Croatia: Bosnian War, 1992.

Most ethnic conflicts seem to revolve around “negative” reciprocity. Individuals and governments seeking to unite a disparate people have effectively misused the human desire to repay “favours” in kind (e.g., retribution) by evoking historical injustices in order to stimulate in-group/out-group fractures. During WWII, the Ustaše, the pro-Nazi regime of Croatia, surrounded the ethnic Serbian village of Prebilovci, collected all of the women and children, transported them to the mouth of a deep vertical cave, and threw them to their deaths. This was just one of several significant massacres committed against the ethnic Serbian minority. Few of the responsible Ustaše were ever brought to trial; fewer still were convicted.

In 1991, Croatia declared independence from the former Yugoslav Republic, which was predominantly governed by Serbia through its control of the National armed forces. “The new Croat government, led by Franjo Tudjman, seemed to be reviving fascism, even using the old Ustasha flag, and also enacted discriminatory laws targeting Orthodox Serbs.”⁵⁰⁹ The Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic used the Croatian behavior from WWII as a pretense to preemptively invade Croatia and Kosovo and justify equally brutal atrocity “repayments.” Eyal Press notes in *Beautiful Souls* that “the memory of past affronts was indeed turned into an immensely potent ideological weapon during the turmoil of the early nineties, with nationalists wasting no opportunity to remind people of the tribulations their ancestors had suffered, as a way to foment ethnic hatred.”⁵¹⁰

4. Information Age

a. Venezuela: Petroleum Gifts, 1999.

In 1999, Hugo Chavez came to power in oil-rich Venezuela under a populist banner of redistribution of wealth, land, and governmental services. One of his

⁵⁰⁹ History Place, “Genocide in the 20th Century,” <http://www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/bosnia.htm>.

⁵¹⁰ Eyal Press, “Defying the Group,” in *Beautiful Souls* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2012), 58.

primary public goals was to spread his Bolivarian-style revolution to all of Latin America. He facilitated this strategy by supplying heavily subsidized or even free petroleum to other nations as a way to bring socialists to power. These pro-Chavez leaders were in turn able to liberally pass along his “gift” to their constituents, leveraging their feelings of repayment-obligation into votes. These petrol favors also secured local international support for Venezuela in its pursuit of revolutionary objectives at home and abroad. “It is no wonder then that, after a meeting in Caracas this [January 2013], the ALBA and PetroCaribe nations issued a statement expressing their ‘full and absolute solidarity’ with Mr Chavez and urging ‘respect’ for the [Venezuelan] Supreme Court ruling that postponed his inauguration to an undefined date.”

Chavez, elected in 1999, remained in power until his death in 2013. During this time he liberally used petroleum revenue gifts within Venezuela to maintain the popular vote, winning four presidential elections and changing the constitution to eliminate presidential term limits. As a Venezuelan mourner cried at his passing, “we were orphans before Chavez. We had no father and we had no motherland. Chavez became our father and gave us the right [(“gift”)] to our homeland.”⁵¹¹

b. Gaza: Hamas Humanitarian Activities, 2006.

Hamas, an offshoot of the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood, conducted its first official attack against Israel in 1989. Over the next three decades, its greatly expanded military wing, al-Qassam Brigades, increased the fatality and frequency of its attacks on Israel citizens. In response, Israel retaliated in-kind and imposed increasingly restrictive conditions on life in Palestinian governed territory, principally the Gaza strip. To sustain at least the average Palestinian’s passive tolerance, if not active support, for its violent activities, Hamas instituted Humanitarian Assistance Programs. “Hamas’s infrastructure of social-welfare institutions, the backbone of its proselytizing efforts

⁵¹¹ Mary Murray, “We’ll Carry On Your Fight’: Venezuelans Mourn and Prepare for Hugo Chavez Funeral,” *NBC News*, 7 March 2013, http://worldnews.nbcnews.com/_news/2013/03/07/17222948-well-carry-on-your-fight-venezuelans-mourn-and-prepare-for-hugo-chavez-funeral?lite.

(dawa), generates both popular support for the organization and logistical support for its terrorist attacks.”⁵¹²

In a severe and prolonged state of deprivation in conflict-torn Gaza, Palestinians became grateful (indebted) for even the most meager of “gifts,” which Hamas strategically presented. “We would be completely destitute without this help. Naturally, we gave our votes to Hamas, because they are the ones who touch our need.”⁵¹³ Hamas’ victory in the 2006 parliamentary elections may suggest that many Palestinians chose to repay their debt of gratitude with their votes.

c. Zimbabwe: Private Wildlife Conservation, 1998.

In 1998, the country of Zimbabwe was still grappling with a long violent guerrilla struggle to overthrow the historically exploitative minority white rule with black majority representation and rights. However, a century of colonial rule had left a severely unbalanced distribution of land, most of which lies in the hands of white residents. This obvious inequality, coupled with mounting population and resource pressures, led to escalating confrontations between white land owners and the surrounding black communal tribes.

In the southeast Lowveld, 23 white cattle farmers decided to combine and fence off their lands into a single wildlife conservancy for hunting and eco-tourism, called the Savé Valley Conservancy (SVC). The surrounding black communities did not recognize the SVC’s land claims and cut fences and poached the wildlife within. The land-owners retaliated with more legal actions, fines, and reduced land access. However, the SVC also recognized it needed to break the cycle of negative reciprocity before Robert Mugabe’s government intervened on behalf of the “native” Zimbabweans. The SVC devised an initial concession, a “gift that was expected to stimulate a fitting return

⁵¹² Matthew Levitt and Jamie Chosak, “Undermining Hamas and Empowering Moderates by Filling the Humanitarian Void,” *The Washington Institute*, 7 September 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/undermining-hamas-and-empowering-moderates-by-filling-the-humanitarian-void>.

⁵¹³ Kim Murphy, “Hamas Victory is Built on Social Work,” *Los Angeles Times*, 2 March 2006, <http://articles.latimes.com/2006/mar/02/world/fg-charity2>.

gift, of approximate equivalence, from the [surrounding black] communities.”⁵¹⁴ It instituted “a community trust to channel earnings from its operations into five neighboring rural districts, supporting thousands of villagers and employing at least 800 workers in the conservancy.”⁵¹⁵ This initial concession did trigger a change in the dynamic. The black communities agreed to self-enforce the restrictions on poaching and refrain from cutting fences to become active participants in the SVC.⁵¹⁶

5. Multi-Media Appeals

a. TV: Olympics Proctor & Gamble “Thank you Mom” Commercial, 2012.

The 2012 Summer Olympics, broadcast by NBC in the United States, averaged 31 million viewers a day.⁵¹⁷ During the 17 days of Olympic competition, the world’s largest advertiser, Proctor & Gamble, aired a two minute commercial thanking Moms everywhere for what they sacrifice to raise and care for their children. The first half of the commercial provides stirring images of the years of sacrifice mothers make around the globe. The second half transitions to images of a positive payoff; thanks to Moms’ commitment, their children grow up to be successful, and even to become Olympic athletes. The segment closes with Proctor & Gamble acknowledging and thanking Moms everywhere; “The hardest job in the world is the best job in the world. Thank you, Mom. P&G Proud sponsor of Moms.”

⁵¹⁴ Harry Wels, *Private Wildlife Conservation in Zimbabwe: Joint Ventures and Reciprocity* (Boston: Koninklijke Brill, 2003), 3.

⁵¹⁵ Angus Shaw, “Zimbabwe’s Savé Valley Conservancy Is Threatened By Land Takeovers, Critics Charge,” *Huffington Post*, 24 August 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/08/24/zimbabwe-save-valley-conservancy_n_1827993.html.

⁵¹⁶ Harry Wels, *Private Wildlife Conservation in Zimbabwe: Joint Ventures and Reciprocity* (Boston: Koninklijke Brill, 2003), 4.

⁵¹⁷ Austin Karp, “NBC Averaging a 19.2 Rating, Most Viewers in Olympic TV History,” *Sports Business Daily*, 14 August 2012, <http://www.sportsbusinessdaily.com/SB-Blogs/Olympics/London-Olympics/2012/08/finalratings.aspx>.



Figure 2. Proctor & Gamble TV commercial, aired during the 2012 Olympics, entitled “Thank you Mom,” from YouTube.

In this ad, Proctor & Gamble is extending the gift of compliment and sympathy; it lets Moms know that they are appreciated. Mothers can repay this compliment and perhaps sustain P&G’s good feelings about them by choosing or staying loyal to P&G products. At the very least, this activates the association principle. The positive feelings generated by grateful children, national pride, and the Olympics in general are subtly transferred to the P&G brand.

b. TV: Chrysler Jeep/USO “Whole Again” Commercial, 2013.

The 2013 Super Bowl drew a reported 108 million viewers.⁵¹⁹ During its traditionally anticipated and well-watched half-time, Jeep and the USO aired a two minute spot dramatically narrated by Oprah Winfrey; “...you’ve been the reason we push on...because when you are whole, we are more than a family...we are a nation.” The ad transitions between images of Jeeps and returning soldiers. The narration repeatedly invokes the “we” debt of gratitude, on behalf of Chrysler Jeep and the American people for the sacrifices and service undertaken by the U.S. Military.

⁵¹⁸ YouTube, “Olympics P&G- Thank You Mom Commercial,” uploaded 1 July 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2V-20Qe4M8Y>.

⁵¹⁹ Liana B. Baker, “Super Bowl Viewer Ratings Down from a Year Ago,” *Reuters*, 4 February 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/04/us-superbowl-cbs-ratings-idUSBRE9130P720130204>.



Figure 3. 2013 Jeep TV commercial, aired during the Super Bowl, entitled “Whole Again,” from YouTube.

The emotionally powerful images, music, and Oprah Winfrey’s tone subtly transfer the declarations of collective debt, made on behalf of Jeep, onto the viewing audience. Through the principle of association, the positive emotions of admiration for the men and women of the military and a sense of profound obligation are subconsciously transferred to the viewer’s recognition of Jeep.

c. *Image: Baskin Robbins “Free Samples,” 1953.*

Ever since 1953, Baskin-Robbins ice cream shops have offered free samples to their customers to help them decide what to purchase. Part of the brand’s core identity has come to be the iconic, tiny pink free sample spoon.



Figure 4. Baskin-Robbins “tasting” spoon, from br31kyle.files.wordpress.com.

⁵²⁰ YouTube, “Jeep ‘Whole Again’ Super Bowl Official Commercial,” uploaded 3 February 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FadwTBcvISo>.

⁵²¹ Photo source, <http://br31kyle.files.wordpress.com/2010/01/br-pink-spoon.jpg>.



Figure 5. Baskin-Robbins “Free” Ice Cream Coupon, from myfreesampleaustralia.com.

The customer approaches the counter and asks for a sample of a particular flavor. The clerk takes one of the bright pink spoons and scoops a liberal dollop, presenting it back to the customer as a “gift.” Additionally, the company routinely offers coupons for free or buy-one-get-one-free deals. The same principle applies here. The customer comes in, is presented with a genuine gift and experiences feelings of good will toward the company, ideally sufficient to induce brand loyalty, a long-term behavioral benefit. Although not explicitly stated as a policy to manipulate customer behavior, the Baskin-Robbins model seems to have paid off. The franchise is international with an estimated 300 million customers every year.⁵²³

d. Image: Apple, “Project Red,” 2011.

In 2011, several major product companies and celebrities came together to promote the Project Red Campaign. Its goal was to leverage consumer purchases into donations for medicines to eliminate AIDS in the next generation. In an integrative approach, famous brands marketed limited editions of their product with the color red. These products cost the same whether they were red or any other color. However, the company agreed to donate 50% of the profits from red items to the AIDS Global Fund. The in-store and on-line product displays informed the customer that his selection of “red” would result in a donation by the company on his behalf, comprising an uninvited gift.

⁵²² Photo source, <http://www.myfreesamplesaustralia.com/88/uploads/2013/04/Free-Baskin-Robbins-ice-cream-on-your-birthday-main.png>.

⁵²³ Baskin-Robbins, “History,” <http://www.baskinrobbins.com/content/baskinrobbins/en/aboutus/history.html>.



Figure 6. Apple product page, from the Project Red website.

Apple produced a selection of red iPods for this campaign. Generally, a consumer does not feel a reciprocal obligation toward a vendor for purchasing an item, especially since the item is not a gift; it is an “even” exchange that ends the relational obligation. However, by informing the customer that Apple would donate on the customer’s behalf, the customer incurred an unpaid “favor.” Beyond the sale, the association effect transferred the customer’s positive feelings from being recognized (status) as “altruistic” to his general perception of the “goodness” of the Apple Company’s products.

e. ***Political: McCain Presidential Campaign “Prisoner #624787” Ad, 2008.***

In 1967, Navy Lieutenant Commander John McCain was shot down over North Vietnam and held prisoner for five-and-a-half years. His public account upon release detailed horrific mistreatment and sub-human standards. Up until the 2008 Presidential election, Senator McCain had largely refrained from leveraging his POW experience during political campaigns.⁵²⁵ In the political ad, titled with his prisoner of war identification number, each scene contains a background image of his past service to America. The narrator solemnly intones, “What must we believe about a President?

⁵²⁴ Project Red, “Apple Product Page,” <http://www.joinred.com/partners/#!/shopred/apple-ipod-touch-2/>.

⁵²⁵ Sam Stein, “McCain Camp Plays POW Card on House Gaffe,” *Huffington Post Online*, 21 August 2008, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/08/21/mccain-camp-plays-pow-car_n_120428.html.

...what does he think, where has he been...has he walked the walk?" The image's final transition is to Vietnam prisoner-of-war McCain, lying prostrate in a prison bed, being questioned by an unseen but "menacing enemy."



Figure 7. John McCain 2008 presidential campaign TV commercial, entitled "Prisoner #624787," from YouTube.

The message is symbolic; Sen. McCain served his country in the military and suffered extremely on "our" behalf. He has given to his country, and now it is time for his country to repay the debt. The solution to the debt-dilemma is suggested by the nature of the ad: Americans should vote for McCain.

f. Political: Obama Presidential Campaign "Made in America" Ad, 2012.

One of the dominant concerns of Americans during the 2012 presidential campaign was the state of the economy and unemployment.⁵²⁷ Both parties deliberately leveraged this concern in their speeches and advertising, recognizing that the public was using this subject as a principle determinant of who to support. In 2009, President Obama authorized the government's \$110 billion bailout of the failing U.S. auto industry. At the time, the move was highly unpopular. However, by 2012 both General Motors and Chrysler posted profits and had initiated some repayment on the loans.

⁵²⁶ YouTube, "624787," uploaded 27 March 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j-QYIP7o2-A>.

⁵²⁷ Lydia Saad, "Economy Is Dominant Issue for Americans as Election Nears," *Gallup*, 22 October 2012, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/158267/economy-dominant-issue-americans-election-nears.aspx>.



Figure 8. Barack Obama 2012 presidential campaign TV commercial, entitled “Made in America,” from YouTube.

In his “Made in the USA” political campaign ad, President Obama is implied to be a savior, specifically of one million Midwestern workers. To increase the “heroic” nature of his act, the spot contrasts Obama’s actions with statements by the Republican Party candidate that suggest Romney’s callousness. Romney is quoted as saying, “Let Detroit go bankrupt.” The reciprocal principle behind the ad’s message is that the greater Midwest owes a debt to Obama by virtue of his authorizing the auto bailout, thereby saving their jobs and the local economy. The ad suggests the obligation can best be repaid by voting for him in the election. Obama decisively won in Michigan.

B. COMMITMENT AND CONSISTENCY

It is human nature to strive for consistency between one’s many identities and the implications of one’s behavior. Less consciously, as uncertainty increases humans often default to the heuristic of repeating the most recent success in a similar situation. In influence efforts, triggering an initial behavior can bias the individual to repeat that behavior so that he eventually incorporates it into his identity. The two main persuasive tactics, as highlighted by Cialdini, that are most often employed to leverage this principle are “foot-in-the-door” and “low-balling.”

⁵²⁸ YouTube, “Made in America - Obama for America 2012 Ad,” uploaded 22 February 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hsmU2aM8ez8>.

1. Cialdini

a. Foot-in-the-door: Hazing Rituals

Traditionally, college fraternities have an entrance ritual, popularly referred to as “Hell Week.” During this period, those voluntarily petitioning to join the organization are put through rituals of physical and psychological stress, ostensibly to test their commitment to and belief in the organization and its principles.⁵²⁹ High entrance costs have long been used by selective organizations and populations as a mechanism to control membership quality and deter exit; the scarcity principle suggests that the more difficult something is to obtain, the more valuable it becomes to the individual.

According to HazingPrevention.Org, as of 2010 “the number of recorded hazing/pledging/rushing-related deaths in fraternities and sororities stands at 96 – 90 males and 6 females.”⁵³⁰ Why would anyone put themselves through such degradation and danger? Herein lays the key: “.put themselves.” Cialdini notes that the key to turning an initial commitment into an enduring behavior is to make it “active, public, effortful, and freely chosen.”⁵³¹ The applicant who endures these abuses is doing so voluntarily. It would be inconsistent of an individual to tolerate the significant entry cost if he does not view the value of membership as yielding benefit. Therefore, the individual must inflate and believe in (internalize) the organization’s merit.

b. Low-balling: Base Sticker Price

A common tactic observed by Cialdini in his investigation of the automobile dealership focused on getting the customer to commit to the idea of purchasing, whereby his brain ceases questioning whether to buy and switches to the details of what will be purchased. To do this, auto advertisers often highlight a falsely low or base model sticker price, knowing full well that almost no one buys the spartan base model. The cognitive advantage to this strategy is that the buyer no longer looks at

⁵²⁹ Cialdini, *Influence*, 75.

⁵³⁰ Hazing Prevention Organization, “Hazing Information,” accessed 1 May 2013, <http://www.hazingprevention.org/hazing-information.html>.

⁵³¹ Cialdini, *Influence*, 66.

\$0 as the contrast point in judging the car's final cost. Instead, the customer who has mentally committed to the idea of buying assesses the cost as the amount of deviation between the base sticker price and the final price. For the buyer, the dealer's offer of air conditioning or DVD player for an extra \$400 seems trivial compared to the already mentally "spent" base sticker price of \$18,000, for example.

Cialdini notes that car salesman recognize the powerful effect of layering multiple seemingly "insignificant" commitments to gain an aggregate consistency pressure. Dealers use layered public, effortful, and active rituals, like getting customers to sign multiple preliminary documents, encouraging customers to take the car for 24 hours, and processing financing approval "just in case you decide to buy."⁵³²

2. Ancient and Medieval Age

a. Rome: Sacramentum Militae, 5th Century B.C.

Perhaps one of the critical conditions that enabled the Roman Army to function so effectively, on such distant and decentralized military campaigns, was the strong loyalty-oaths that bound soldiers to their military leaders and to the Roman Consul. The public oath psychologically bound the individual's loyalty-performance to the judgment of his respected Gods; to break one's oath was in effect to agree to forfeit one's life. The potential penalty of death created a robust entry cost that would have deterred desertion from the group. "Republican soldiers held their oath in the highest regard, and that its violation was universally condemned."⁵³³

The pressures of familial and social approval added to the consistency pressures to remain honorable. "For the army was in Roman eyes not so much a burden as an opportunity to prove oneself worthy in the eyes of one's fellow countrymen."⁵³⁴ In subsequent centuries, the Roman Empire had soldiers publicly re-confirm their oath

⁵³² Cialdini, *Influence*, 84.

⁵³³ Alexandra Holbrook, "Loyalty and the Sacramentum in the Roman Republican Army," (PhD Dissertation, McMaster University, 2003), 90.

⁵³⁴ Roman Empire, "The Recruit of the Republican Army: Before the Reforms of Marius," <http://www.roman-empire.net/army/becoming.html>.

annually. In theory, the use of repeated public and effortful acts of commitment should increase the internal and external consistency pressures to act in accordance with one's word.

b. Egypt: Alexander the Great's Conquest, 332 B.C.

In 336 B.C., at the age of 20, Alexander the Great replaced his father as the leader of the League of Corinth. During the next four years, he pushed into Asia Minor, defeating and absorbing those Persian territories. In his conquests, Alexander had established a reputation for consistency; if a territory acquiesced, it and its people were well-treated. In 332 B.C., Alexander moved his army south, conquering a deliberately submissive Egypt.⁵³⁵ Alexander spared the country, but exacted immediate recognition by the Egyptian notables of his unquestioned right to rule over Egypt. "The priesthood [publicly] recognized him as a pharaoh...[the people then] hailed Alexander as a god." Because members of Egyptian society had for so long internalized the divine omnipotence of their pharaoh, the citizens, once informed by their trusted religious authorities, were committed to accepting and internalizing Alexander's divinity.⁵³⁶

As a part of his broad strategy of acculturation, Alexander steadily increased the advantages for Egyptians to publicly recognize his dominion. The next year he founded Alexandria, into which he injected Greek culture and bureaucracy. As the new center of Egyptian government services, Egyptians leaders and influential citizens were required to constantly and publicly participate in ways that committed them to consider the Macedonian conqueror legitimate.

c. Religion

Religions die out unless they can attract and maintain adherents. As a result, all religions benefit from teaching the "righteousness" of stating and keeping one's

⁵³⁵ Notable Biographies, "Alexander the Great Biography," <http://www.notablebiographies.com/A-An/Alexander-the-Great.html>.

⁵³⁶ Tour Egypt, "Alexander the Great in Egypt," <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/alexanderthegreat.htm>

word. This may explain why all religions incorporate public rituals of effortful commitment. Jesus recognized the persuasive power of consistency pressures when he challenged the angry crowd to reflect on their record of sinful behavior before casting stones at a woman who had sinned; “he who is without sin among you, let him be the first to throw a stone at her.”⁵³⁷ John the Baptist links commitment to a responsibility for consistent behavior; “whoever says ‘I know [Jesus]’ but does not keep his commandments is a liar.” Similarly, the Buddha in the *Dhammapada* admonishes the reader that commitment is hollow without consistency; “much though he recites the sacred texts, but acts not accordingly, that heedless man is like a cowherd who only counts the cows of others — he does not partake of the blessings of the holy life.”⁵³⁸

Islam incorporates several strong commitment mechanisms that leverage repetition, especially the first and second pillars of Islam. According to the first pillar, the profession of faith, a person becomes Muslim when he publicly “bears witness and testifies that ‘nothing deserves worship except God and Muhammad is the messenger of God.’”⁵³⁹ This vocalized statement is repeated throughout the day, every day, in greeting and conversation. Daily prayers, comprising the second pillar, are a re-commitment ritual occurring at five set times each day.⁵⁴⁰ Fulfilling this requirement keeps one in good standing. The desire to retain the good opinion of one’s valued community increases the pressure to behave consistently both in word and deed.

In Hinduism, there are 16 rites of passage during one’s life. These are generally marked by social celebrations, which include the individual’s family and greater respected community. The essence of each ritual is a public re-confirmation of one’s religious duties (dharma) and builds upon previous ritual commitments.

⁵³⁷ Bible, John 8:7.

⁵³⁸ Buddha, *Dhammapada*.

⁵³⁹ Islam Religion, “The First Pillar of Islam: The Muslim Profession of Faith,” <http://www.islamreligion.com/articles/193/>.

⁵⁴⁰ Saudi Embassy, “The Five Pillars of Islam,” http://www.saudiembassy.net/about/country-information/Islam/five_pillars_of_Islam.aspx.

3. Modern Age

a. *British Colonies: French/Indian War, 1756.*

In 1756, the population of the 13 colonies, still under British rule, had increased sufficiently so that their attention turned west to their claimed “limitless” western boundaries. The French at the time laid claim to the land (New France) south from Hudson Bay, straddling both sides of the Mississippi, unto the Gulf of Mexico. The colonies viewed the French as a direct threat to their rightful territory and economic expansion. Back in Europe, France remained primarily concerned with the military threats from Prussia and other major European powers. As a result, France chose not to fortify New France with her national troops. To fill the gap, the North American French enlisted the support of the local Native American tribes.⁵⁴¹

To the evangelical leaders, America was the Promised Land; it was a Christian’s duty to ensure god-fearing Christians held sway. During the 1740s, Christian evangelism had begun sweeping the colonies with an emotional focus on the obligation to actively pursue one’s salvation. Those who preached became empowered as the authorities for determining what actions would secure a spot in Heaven. “To arouse the support of their congregations for this war, evangelical ministers began to call upon their parishioners to do battle as evidence of their inner virtue.”⁵⁴² Preachers first obtained “low cost” vocal commitments of faith. They followed up with a larger consistency request, that of joining the colonial fight against France and its Indian allies.

b. *Middle East: Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Agreement, 1949.*

In 1948, when the United Nations failed to create separate Arab and Jewish states from the former Palestinian Mandate, Israel declared its unilateral independence. In response, the armies of Syria, Jordan, and Iraq, led by Egypt, invaded.

⁵⁴¹ U.S. History, “French and Indian War,” <http://www.ushistory.org/us/8b.asp>.

⁵⁴² R.C. Gordon-McCutchan, “The Irony of Evangelical History,” in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20, no. 4 (1981), 319.

However, within five months the Arab forces had been routed. An entire Egyptian division lay surrounded and Israel now occupied significant additional territories.⁵⁴³

An African-American, Ralph Bunche, representing the fledgling UN, was sent to arbitrate an armistice between Israeli and Egyptian delegations. Both sides initially refused to be in the same room, much less converse. He “took an incremental approach, breaking the issues into small, practical questions that both sides could address without involving matters of principle.”⁵⁴⁴ Bunche knew the key was to build familiarity with the negotiation/concession process, so he used repetition to lower the barriers to agreement. He created simple “resolvable” issues that both sides would approve, but made them write these down and sign their names. “Primarily [these smaller agreements were] to get both sides to meet, but also, I wanted them both to get accustomed to taking formal action, and to signing something. That way I figured the next step might not be so difficult.”⁵⁴⁵ Repetition created consistency, which was ultimately leveraged into achieving a more significant behavioral commitment. At its conclusion, Egypt and Israel signed a military armistice, with Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria following suit soon thereafter.

c. Soviet Union/U.S.: The Reykjavik Summit, 1986.

By 1986, the Cold War had been raging between the Soviet Union and the United States for more than 40 years. Ever increasing defense spending had finally placed the Soviet Union on the brink of economic collapse. President Gorbachev knew he had to end the arms race to save his nation; his goal was to get President Reagan to sign a nuclear arms control treaty. Gorbachev activated the commitment and consistency principle by creating a series of opportunities that yielded smaller commitments, which in

⁵⁴³ David Margolick, “Endless War,” *New York Times*, 4 May 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/04/books/review/Margolick-t.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

⁵⁴⁴ Fredrik Stanton, “The Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Agreement,” in *Great Negotiations: Agreements That Changed the Modern World* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2010), 150.

⁵⁴⁵ Stanton, “The Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Agreement,” 151.

the end brought the United States to the table on SDI, something President Reagan had been immovable on from the beginning.

Gorbachev initiated negotiation with a handwritten letter to Reagan proposing a “strictly confidential, private, and frank discussion...to draft agreements on two or three very specific questions, which you and I could sign during my visit to the United States.”⁵⁴⁶ Upon their arrival in Iceland, Gorbachev kept the momentum, handing Reagan a pre-prepared Soviet proposal that offered the unsolicited concession of a 50% reduction in strategic nuclear forces. As the talks proceeded, with every U.S. concern the Soviet team quickly proposed a counter-offer that provided another “reasonable” concession that the U.S. would feel obliged to accept. In response to a quickening pace of minor agreements, Reagan remarked, “we are getting somewhere...the basis for an agreement is within reach.”

The negotiations developed their own momentum as both sides became used to finding ways to say “yes.” By the end, the two leaders found themselves proposing complete elimination of all nuclear weapons. “Euphoria lurked, barely concealed, under the surface of emotions. The U.S. and USSR seemed to be on the verge of the most sweeping commitments in history to reduce mankind’s most destructive weaponry.”⁵⁴⁷ As this surprising solution seemed possible, it became the new value contrast point. This is when Gorbachev dropped the proverbial bomb. Total disarmament was possible if the U.S. would cease SDI development, something Reagan was never willing to discuss previously. The Americans faced the consistency pressure of having already “bought” the possibility of total disarmament. The Soviet Minister of Foreign affairs amplified the pressure with his remark that “when future generations read the record of our talks, and saw how close we had come, they will not forgive us if we let this opportunity pass.”⁵⁴⁸ Although the U.S. and Soviet Union left Iceland without that sweeping agreement, they had created a new habit of negotiation. Gorbachev stated that

⁵⁴⁶ Fredrik Stanton, “The Reykjavik Summit,” in *Great Negotiations: Agreements That Changed the Modern World* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2010), 203.

⁵⁴⁷ Stanton, “The Reykjavik Summit,” 216.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 219.

“Rekyjavik showed that an agreement was possible.”⁵⁴⁹ The two countries did continue cooperating, ultimately signing the INF treaty and the START agreement four years later.

4. Information Age

a. *Brazil: Satere-Mawe Bullet Ant Glove, -Present.*

In Brazil’s Amazonian jungle, the Satere-Mawe tribe practices an initiation ritual for those wanting to be recognized as warriors. Hundreds of stinging ants line a glove that encases the willing initiate’s hand. According to the “Schmidt Sting Index,” these ants have the most painful sting in the world.⁵⁵⁰ The boy-applicant must endure the pain for 10 minutes without any displays of “weakness.” If he fails to remain composed, he will have to voluntarily repeat the effort until successful, if he wishes to be recognized as a man.⁵⁵¹



Figure 9. Satere-Mawe rite-of-warrior activity, wearing a stinging “ant glove,” from Otithelis.com.

The value of becoming recognized as a warrior is made all the more valuable by its prohibitive entry costs. Once admitted to the “club,” having willingly committed to suffer excruciating pain, the new Satere-Mawe warrior has a vested interest

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 224.

⁵⁵⁰ Eddie Wrenn, “The 10 Most Painful Stings on the Planet,” *UK Daily Mail*, 22 May 2012, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2148089/The-10-painful-stings-planet-self-sacrificing-man-tried-150-different-varieties-science.html>.

⁵⁵¹ Brett McKay and Kate McKay, “8 Interesting (And Insane) Male Rites of Passages From Around the World,” *Art of Manliness*, <http://www.artofmanliness.com/2010/02/21/male-rites-of-passage-from-around-the-world/>.

⁵⁵² Photo source, <http://www.otithelis.com/adult/initiation/bullet1.jpg>.

to both internalize and promote the legitimacy of the process and the elite nature of the warrior caste.

b. 9/11 Global Support, 2001.

On 10 November 2001, following the devastating terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center Towers and Pentagon, President Bush addressed the United Nations. In his emotional but direct speech, the President established the commitment pressure for global assistance, which subsequently enabled the U.S. to leverage desired behaviors consistent with that initial act of vocal commitment. “Every nation has a stake in this cause...History will record our response and judge or justify every nation in this hall...The civilized world is now responding...The allies of terror are equally guilty of murder and equally accountable to justice.” In his speech, President Bush pressures nations to self-reflect; they are either totally and actively against terrorism or for terrorism, there is no inbetween. On the heels of the unanimous U.N. Security Council resolution condemning the attack and pledging the full resources of the United Nations, U.S Ambassador Negroponte reinforced the momentum for behavioral consistency when he stated, “I just feel there’s overwhelming support for the actions the General Assembly and the Security Council have taken...a good example of the solidarity of the international community on this issue.”⁵⁵³

The terrorist acts of 9/11 and the continuous political framing of the situation by the United States helped to persuade member states of the global community to make public and effortful demonstrations of their disapproval of terrorism. For example, in 2002 “President Bush said that the time had come ‘for Syria to decide which side of the war against terror it is on.’”⁵⁵⁴ In a 2002 article in Christian Science Monitor, Nicholas Blanford notes, “since Sept. 11, Syrian information has been instrumental in

⁵⁵³ Crosswalk, “Arab Nations Pledge to Fight Terror,” 2 October 2001, <http://www.crosswalk.com/899358/>.

⁵⁵⁴ U.S Council on Foreign Relations, “State Sponsor: Syria,” <http://www.cfr.org/syria/state-sponsor-syria/p9368#p4>.

catching militant Islamists around the world, say U.S. officials.”⁵⁵⁵ Countries formerly reluctant or even hostile to U.S. foreign policy, such as many in the Arab Middle East, Sudan, and Russia seemed to go out of their way to make public declarations of solidarity and cooperation. On an international television broadcast, Russia’s President Putin pledged critical intelligence cooperation and support to the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan.⁵⁵⁶ Within a week, the League of Arab States made a public joint declaration: “These terrorist crimes have been viewed by the League as inadmissible and deserving all condemnation...it follows that there is a pressing and urgent need to combat world terrorism.”⁵⁵⁷ At the UN, Sudan’s Ambassador publicly stated, “Sudan, matching its words with deeds, announces to all ... that its territory will never be a haven for terrorist groups.”⁵⁵⁸

c. Afghanistan: International Financial Commitment, 2003.

In 2001, following the U.S. supported revolution in Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai was selected to head the interim government. Decimated by decades of conflict and without state infrastructure investment, the new nation needed immediate financial assistance from the international community. The 2002 Tokyo Donor Conference produced an initial combined pledge of \$4.5 billion, far below Karzai’s estimate of \$25 billion needed to build a functioning centralized government.

Karzai understood that international pledges of support were fickle, and relatively non-binding. A consummate politician, he employed the practice of obtaining repeated public commitments as a way to create broader pressures for donor countries to remain committed over the long-term. In February 2003, Karzai made the diplomatic rounds in the U.S., including testifying before Congress. At a meeting with the Senate

⁵⁵⁵ Nicholas Blanford, “In US ‘war on terror,’ Syria is foe and friend,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 14 May 2002, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2002/0514/p01s04-wome.html>.

⁵⁵⁶ CNN, “Russia Outlines How It Will Cooperate with U.S.,” 24 September 2001, <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/09/24/ret.russia/>.

⁵⁵⁷ Charles Kurzman, “Islamic Statements Against Terrorism: Statement by the League of Arab States, 17 September 2001,” <http://kurzman.unc.edu/islamic-statements-against-terrorism/>.

⁵⁵⁸ Crosswalk, “Arab Nations Pledge to Fight Terror.”

Foreign Relations Committee, he warned that the U.S. “must remain committed to Afghanistan in order to make sure that terrorism is defeated completely.” Subsequently, the committee’s chairman, Sen. Lugar, made statements echoing the U.S.’s commitment: “American credibility is on the line in these situations, and we must understand that failure to follow through could have extremely negative consequences on the war on terror.”⁵⁵⁹ At the 2006 Donor conference, President Karzai addressed the Japanese, the second largest monetary donor, in ways that evoked consistency and commitment pressures. He started by graciously thanking the Japanese for four and half years of prior commitment, which implied a habitual pattern of “correct” behavior. Mid-way through his speech, he invoked the “we,” to link commitment to the honorable duty of the Japanese people. “Although the road ahead of us is long and arduous, I am confident that with continued commitment and cooperation we will meet the goals we have set ourselves.”⁵⁶⁰ The 2006 donor conference resulted in the signing of the Afghanistan Compact, an agreement between Afghanistan and donor countries “determined to strengthen their partnership to improve the lives of Afghan people, and to contribute to national, regional, and global peace and security.”⁵⁶¹

d. North Korea: Pattern of Aggression, 2013.

In July 1953, after three years of intense war, producing an estimated 2,600,000 dead and wounded on all sides, North Korea (NK) and the United Nations signed an Armistice. In every decade since, NK has established a pattern of escalating acts of violence as a tool to achieve its foreign policy goals. In 1968, NK captured the *USS Pueblo* and its 83-member crew. In 1974, it sank two South Korean fishing vessels in South Korean waters. In 1984, NK pursued a Soviet defector into South Korea initiating a public firefight that left nine NK and one SK soldiers dead. In 1994, NK shot

⁵⁵⁹ James Gerstenzang, “Karzai Seeks to Keep Aid to Nation on U.S. Agenda,” *Los Angeles Times*, 27 February 2003, <http://articles.latimes.com/2003/feb/27/world/fg-karzai27>.

⁵⁶⁰ Hamid Karzai, “Statement to the Tokyo Conference, 2006,” uploaded 5 July 2006, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2aBokDXjtSQ>.

⁵⁶¹ United Nations, “The Afghanistan Compact,” 1 February 2006, <http://unama.unmissions.org/Portals/UNAMA/Documents/AfghanistanCompact-English.pdf>.

down a U.S. Army helicopter, killing one crew member and detaining another. In 2009, the two Koreas engaged in an open military naval battle at Daechong. In May 2010, a SK naval vessel was sunk by a suspected NK torpedo; 46 sailors were killed. In November 2010, NK launched an artillery barrage on a SK-inhabited island. The media labeled it the “worst act of aggression against South Korea since the ‘50s.”⁵⁶²

The NK pattern of resorting to violence increases violence as a viable solution to future problem-solving. This habitual implementation has created status pressure on the current regime to reinforce the accuracy and correctness of its past policy decisions. North Korea’s new leader, the relatively young Kim Jung-un, may also feel identity-pressure to demonstrate his personal capability and commitment to upholding the regime. This then creates a consistency pressure when it comes to his international dealings. “With the threats billowing out of North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un’s regime at an unusually rapid clip, concern is mounting that the young leader could be backing himself into a corner – feeling compelled to do something or lose face.”⁵⁶³

5. Multi-Media Appeals

a. *TV: Dollar Shave Club, 2011.*

The Dollar Shave Club first premiered in 2011 via a viral YouTube video. It advertises a monthly delivery of generic razors for a \$1 monthly fee. The commercial increases the positive contrast of the offered price by highlighting that the average customer spends up to \$20 per month. Once the customer is signed up, he must actively log on and select cancel or else his card will be automatically charged for each subsequent month. The \$1 offer attracts the customer to make the initial but critical mental commitment to buy. As he proceeds through check-out, he learns that the \$1 razor has only two blades, but that he can obtain “better” razors for a “small” monthly price

⁵⁶² Mark Memmott, “‘Worst Act of Agression Against South Korea’ Since ‘50s,” *NPR*, 23 November 2010, <http://www.stateondemand.state.gov/Regional%20Issues/South%20and%20Central%20Asia/u.s.-pledges-continued-support-to-afghanistan/s/6e6eac85-82f4-4e29-9275-316f4617801e>.

⁵⁶³ Fox News, “N. Korea Threats Raise Concern Kim Backing Regime Into Corner,” 29 March 2013, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2013/03/29/north-korea-orders-rocket-prep-b2-drill/>.

increase. Additionally, at checkout he discovers he must pay \$2.00 per shipment more in shipping costs.



Figure 10. Dollar Shave Club 2011 Internet commercial, from Dollarshaveclub.com.

The comedic and “trendy” style of the commercial reconfirms to the viewer that by paying retail price, he is willingly submitting to exploitation, implying stupidity. This implication produces a subtle incentive to remain with the service to protect his status as “intelligent.” The video and its social buzz generated 12,000 orders within the first two days of the website’s operation.⁵⁶⁵

b. TV: Marine Corps “Leap” Recruitment Video, 2008.

One of the tenets of solicitation, as described by Cialdini, is to get the individual to make a mental decision to commit, at least in principle. For the military recruiter, this equates to a “customer” registering to receive more information via the website or stopping by a local recruitment office. In this richly composed recruitment ad, scenes of heroic Marines are spliced together with one Marine’s journey to overcome life’s fears...including the implied fear of “doing the right thing” by joining the Marines.

⁵⁶⁴ Dollar Shave Club, “Home Page,” <http://www.dollarshaveclub.com/>.

⁵⁶⁵ Darren Dahl, “Riding the Momentum Created by a Cheeky Video,” *New York Times*, 10 April 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/11/business/smallbusiness/dollar-shave-club-from-viral-video-to-real-business.html?pagewanted=all>.



Figure 11. U.S. Marine Corps 2008 recruitment TV commercial, entitled “Leap,” from YouTube.

The message is that fears are irrational and stand in the way of the individual attaining greatness. “I was unsure, apprehensive, scared out of my mind....[but I took the first step]....and I came up a Marine!” You jump in a civilian...you emerge a heroic warrior. The Marines can unlock your potential, but only if you overcome your fear and commit to taking the first step; just click on Marines.com or visit your local recruiter. Department of Defense published statistics note that “all of the active duty and reserve branches met or exceeded their recruiting goals for the [2008] fiscal year.”⁵⁶⁷

c. ***Image: Verizon Cellphones and Service Plans, 2013.***

On the company’s website, the home page scrolls between several images of attractive phones. One of them, also a prominent tab on the bottom, advertises how to get a FREE phone. As another variation of the low-ball technique, the company entices the viewer to learn more about the phone and its attractive features, trying to get the customer to at least mentally decide that getting a new phone is desired and necessary. The phone is advertised as FREE; the shipping is FREE; the service plan is not.

⁵⁶⁶ YouTube, “Marine Corps Recruiting Video ‘Leap,’” uploaded 11 July 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SwCmQnORXIM>.

⁵⁶⁷ About.com, “US Military: FY 2008 Military Recruiting Statistics,” 13 October 2008, <http://usmilitary.about.com/od/2008recruitingstatistics/a/september.htm>



Figure 12. Verizon 2013 “Free” phone advertisement, from Verizon.com.

The most salient signal from the ad is “FREE,” suggesting that there is no risk; the customer has nothing to lose and everything to gain. Once the mental decision has been made to accept the phone, the customer is led through the process of establishing his two year service contract. Averaging \$99 per month, the cost of a new phone is no longer FREE but the self-committed consumer is now contrasting the \$99 first month cost against the gain of a free \$500 phone. With the customer’s small initial commitment (accepting a free phone), minus Verizon’s subsidy of the phone’s cost, the company will collect an estimated \$4,800 in service fees over the course of the contract.

d. Image: Olay Pro-X Even Skin Tone Product, 2013.

It is a simple, graceful ad that promises to “correct the look of 4 years of dark spots in 4 weeks.” If the product can get the customer to make an initial investment (purchase), the promotional guarantee requires that the customer try (continue to purchase) the product for four weeks.⁵⁶⁹ At the end of four weeks, if she has followed the usage directions, the customer will have purchased at least two \$55 kits.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁸ Verizon, “Online Home Page,” <http://www.verizonwireless.com/b2c/index.html?cmp=KNC-58700000020181012>.

⁵⁶⁹ Olay, “Professional Pro X Skin Care,” in *Harper’s Bazaar Magazine*, April 2013.

⁵⁷⁰ Refer to olayprofessional.com for pricing.



Figure 13. Olay professional product print ad, from *Harper's Bazaar*.

The application instructions require the user to apply the product liberally; to dark spots twice a day, every day, and to the face 15 minutes prior to exposure to strong sunlight. By the end of four weeks, the person has committed significant time, routine, and money on top of the initial mental commitment to believe (invest hope) in the product. The consistency principle predicts that as the aggregate of small-scale costs increase, the likelihood of exit decreases. The product is too new to judge efficacy, but unqualified claims of what constitutes the “look of 4 years of dark spots” enables the company significant latitude to claim success and encourage users to stick with the beauty ritual.

e. Political: Bush Presidential “Case for War” Address to the Nation on Iraq, 2003.

During 2002, U.S. intelligence reports delivered to President Bush seemed to build a strong case that Saddam Hussein had concealed weapons of mass destruction and links to known international terrorist organizations. On 17 March 2003, President Bush addressed the nation (and the world) to explain the U.S. rationale for launching a preventive war against Iraq.⁵⁷² During his speech, he made the case for Iraq’s “negative” commitment and consistency, a pattern of deliberately acting contrary to the world’s rational expectations in general and the U.S.’s security concerns in specific. “Iraq has already used weapons of mass destruction against its people and neighbors” and “The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East.”

⁵⁷¹ Photo source, *Harper's Bazaar Magazine*, April 2013.

⁵⁷² YouTube, “Archive: George Bush Threatens Iraq 03-17-03 Pt 1,” uploaded 17 March 2003, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WS5AYQX1m6c>.

The President highlighted that his decision, in comparison, was consistent with the demonstrated will of the U.S. and the international community. “On November 8th, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, finding Iraq in material breach of its obligations and vowing serious consequences if Iraq did not fully and immediately disarm” and “Congress voted overwhelmingly...to support use of force against Iraq.”

The implication to the viewers was that it was inconsistent for the U.S. to not proceed with its attack and it was consistent for Saddam Hussein to not change for the better. “Free nations have a duty to defend our people by uniting against the violent, and tonight, as we have done before, America and our allies accept that responsibility.”⁵⁷³ The case for war was presented as self-evident. On 19 March 2003, the U.S., Great Britain, Australia, and Poland launched a military offensive into Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein from power.

f. Political: Reagan Presidential “Are you Better Off?” Campaign Speech, 1980.

On 4 November, 1979 a group of Islamist students stormed the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, seized 52 Americans, and held them hostage for the next 444 days. Despite economic and political efforts, incumbent U.S. President Jimmy Carter seemed incapable of resolving the situation. In April 1980, he authorized a covert military rescue that ended in the deaths of eight U.S. servicemen and no release of hostages. The general mood of the country was “disappointment.”

The persuasive technique Governor Ronald Reagan used in his presidential election-week speech to ask audience members to reflect on their current happiness, as well as the international prestige of the United States. “Ask yourself, are you better off than you were four years ago?...Is there more or less unemployment in the country than there was four years ago?...Is America as respected throughout the world as

⁵⁷³ George Bush, “Bush: ‘Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours’,” *CNN*, 17 March 2003, http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/03/17/sprj.irq.bush.transcript/index.html?_s=PM:WORLD.

it was?”⁵⁷⁴ By asking people to reflect on several small, seemingly “inconsequential” questions, he built up an aggregate “negative” perception attributable to Carter’s performance. He persuaded viewers to expect consistency; President Carter’s poor performance over the past four years would continue for the next four years, should he be re-elected. The solution was implied; do not vote for continued poor performance.

C. SOCIAL PROOF

The world is buffeted by a fast-paced and ever mounting collection of decision-requests. To deal with the onslaught of uncertainty, humans devise, test, and refine certain trusted rules of thumb to replace complexity in decision-making. Although these automated responses do not generally achieve optimal results, they conserve time and energy in return for producing satisfactory results. Divining what to do by observing others in similar circumstances is a well-used heuristic, also known as *social proof*. The two primary persuasive tactics that make use of this principle are those that increase the salience of a “demonstrating” group and those that increase the perceived similarity of the “demonstrating” group to the individual.

1. Cialdini

a. *Majority Proof: Shopping Cart Use.*

By 1935, Sylvan Goldman owned half the Piggly-Wiggly stores. One evening, Goldman was ruminating about ways to increase customers’ grocery purchases. He concluded that the immediate limiting factor on purchase-quantity per visit was the size of the stores’ small hand baskets. In 1937, he and a partner invented the wheeled shopping cart. They stocked their franchise stores, but no one would use the unfamiliar contraption.⁵⁷⁵ Surveys revealed that “young men thought they would appear weak; young women felt the carts were unfashionable; and older people didn’t want to appear

⁵⁷⁴ YouTube, “Reagan 1980 Are You Better Off Than You Were Four Years Ago?” uploaded October 1980, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=loBe0WXts8>.

⁵⁷⁵ Cialdini, *Influence*, 109.

helpless.”⁵⁷⁶ The customers, faced with practical and social uncertainty, did not want to risk losing status by looking foolish in a public setting. To remedy the situation, Goldman hired “fake” shoppers, representing key demographics, to use the carts. It worked; “by 1940 shopping carts had found so firm a place in American life as to grace the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Supermarkets were redesigned to accommodate them. Checkout counter design and the layout of aisles changed.”⁵⁷⁷ Uncertain shoppers felt comfortable mimicking the behavior of those using the carts. Their conversion in turn added to the social majority picture, inducing still others to try, until it became a socially adopted norm.

b. Similarity Proof: Swimming Lessons.

“The principle of social proof operates most powerfully when we are observing the behavior of people just like us.”⁵⁷⁸ As Goldman recognized (indicated in the previous example), people are more inclined to perceive credibility in social behavior examples when others are more similar to themselves. Cialdini relates how his young son was persuaded to swim without a flotation aid by the example of his peers, specifically by another boy of the same age who was observed swimming without a flotation ring.

Social proof does not need to necessarily be physically observed; it can be imagined. Cialdini relates that credible salesmen, who merely allude to similar others having already chosen a behavior, can stimulate an audience to conceive that a similar social majority has already endorsed a certain “correct” behavior. “Donations to charity more than doubled when the requester claimed to be similar to the donation targets...implying that, therefore, they should want to support the same cause.”⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁶ Idea Finder, “Biography: Sylvan Goldman,”
<http://www.ideafinder.com/history/inventors/goldman.htm>.

⁵⁷⁷ Idea Finder, “Biography: Sylvan Goldman,”
<http://www.ideafinder.com/history/inventors/goldman.htm>.

⁵⁷⁸ Cialdini, *Influence*, 118.

⁵⁷⁹ Cialdini, *Influence*, 118.

2. Ancient and Medieval Age

a. *China: Zhou Dynasty and the Mandate of Heaven, 1046 B.C.*

The Shang Dynasty had ruled China since 1600 B.C. As is often the case, a dynasty born from rejecting the status quo soon becomes part of the new status quo, against which the next generations focuses its frustrations. “The [last] king of Shang, is known in history as a cruel and debauched tyrant. He devised many cruel laws and means of torture, oppressing and exploiting the slaves and common people. Building luxurious palaces and gardens, he led a debauchery [sic] life.”⁵⁸⁰ Sensing an opportunity, the rival Zhou clan created and propagated the acceptance of the concept of the “Mandate of Heaven;” heaven grants the right to rule based on an emperor’s virtuousness. Under this idea, the Emperor’s virtue is determined by his ability to fulfill his obligations to protect and provide for his people. “Signs that a particular ruler had lost the Mandate of Heaven included peasant uprisings, invasions by foreign troops, drought, famine, floods and earthquakes.”⁵⁸¹

In this way, the Zhou used (instigated) a few key peasant uprisings to serve as social proof to the remaining population that the emperor had failed to meet his obligations and had thereby lost his divine right to rule. More and more people throughout the empire joined in the revolt as they saw more and more towns in open revolt. Once in power, the Zhou employed locally selected rulers to act as a buffer between their “loss of mandate” signals and the people’s disaffection. The Zhou dynasty defended its rule for another seven centuries.

b. *Persia: Alexander the Great’s Assimilation Strategy, 330 B.C.*

In 330 B.C., after defeating the Persian Emperor Darius in Mesopotamia, Alexander destroyed the Persian capital city of Persepolis, ending the war and signaling final claim over the Persian territory and its people. Unable to fight effectively so long as

⁵⁸⁰ China Voc, “History: The Shang Dynasty,” <http://www.chinavoc.com/history/shang.htm>.

⁵⁸¹ Kallie Szczepanski, “What is the Mandate of Heaven?” *Asian History*, <http://asianhistory.about.com/od/ancientchina/f/What-Is-The-Mandate-Of-Heaven.htm>.

prejudices divided his Hellenic and newly acquired Persian armies, Alexander instituted several mechanisms to signal the social “correctness” of unification.⁵⁸² In 324, “Alexander staged a symbolic act at Susa where he himself married Darius’s daughter, eighty of his officers married Persian noblewomen, and 10,000 of his troops married their Asiatic concubines.”⁵⁸³

In addition to his institutionalized adoption of a range of Persian traditions, Alexander used the mass marriage as social proof to his empire of “status-rich” behavior, namely that of Greek-Persian unions. “Whatever Alexander’s personal motivations may have been, he is the great catalyst for the Hellenistic melting pot. Intercourse between east and west had antecedents, as we have noticed, but what had been a trickle now swelled into a flood.”⁵⁸⁴

c. Rome: Public Political Endorsement, 68 A.D.

Applause, a social proof signal, was critical in Roman politics. Politicians gauged their popularity by the loudness and duration of clapping as they entered the coliseum. “Crowds developed ways to express degrees of approval of the person or persons before them.”⁵⁸⁵ Nero, Rome’s emperor from 15–68 A.D., sent 5,000 men to Alexandria to learn the superior Egyptian techniques of clapping and then deployed these plaudits among the crowds to stimulate public conception that the majority approved of him.⁵⁸⁶

In the Roman Senate, support for a particular senator was signaled to the group both by physically clustering around the speaker and by the volume of clapping.

⁵⁸² History World, “Alexander the Great Timeline,” <http://historyworld.net/timesearch/default.asp?conid=2&topsort=19670825&direction=PREV&keywords=Alexander the Great timeline&timelineid=>.

⁵⁸³ Taylor, “Propaganda in Ancient Times,” 33.

⁵⁸⁴ Moses Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 21.

⁵⁸⁵ Megan Garber, “A Brief History of Applause, the ‘Big Data’ of the Ancient World,” *Atlantic*, 15 March 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2013/03/a-brief-history-of-applause-the-big-data-of-the-ancient-world/274014/>.

⁵⁸⁶ Garber, “A Brief History of Applause.”

“Voting was visible and peer-pressure-driven.”⁵⁸⁷ In both cases, a “significant” group’s behavior influenced the perception and subsequent behavior of those looking for clues about how best to act.

d. Religion

Religions are generally exclusive by nature; you cannot believe equally in two at the same time without violating the tenets of one or the other. When religions are in direct competition for adherents, their proselytizing tends to focus on signaling their superior legitimacy through numbers of members and in-group definitions. In the early years of Christianity, when persecution prohibited open activity, Christians liberally applied the fish symbol in their communities to signal strength of membership and solidarity.⁵⁸⁸ The *Bible* directs an active spread of faith: “go into all the world and proclaim the gospel to the whole creation,”⁵⁸⁹ with a reminder that “faith by itself, if it is not accompanied by [demonstrable] action, is dead.”⁵⁹⁰ Socially observable actions, which assist the principle behind social proof, are a religious requirement for a reason. Similarly, Islam encourages its adherents to spread the faith: “invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and excellent admonition and argue with people in the best manner.”⁵⁹¹

Buddhism directs its spiritual advisors to spread the truth of Buddha through example: “behaving well so as to be an example to others through one’s behavior.”⁵⁹² A story from the *Duties of Sangha* describes how a group of wandering

⁵⁸⁷ N.S. Gill, “How the Romans Voted in the Roman Republic,” *About*, <http://ancienthistory.about.com/od/romerepublic/qt/052611-How-the-Romans-Voted-in-the-Roman-Republic.htm>.

⁵⁸⁸ Rapture Notes, “The Fish Sign,” <http://www.rapturenotes.com/fish-sign.html>.

⁵⁸⁹ *Bible*, Mark 16:15

⁵⁹⁰ *Bible*, James 2:17, 2:26.

⁵⁹¹ *Qur’an*, Surah An-Nahl Ayat 16:125.

⁵⁹² Ajaan Lee Dhammadharo, “The Department of Spreading the Dhamma,” in *Duties of the Sangha*, translated by Thanissaro Bhikkhu (1960), <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/thai/lee/duties.html#dept4>

ascetics was converted by simply observing the serenity of the Buddha and his group of monks, resting peacefully in the woods.⁵⁹³

3. Modern Age

a. England: European Credit Crisis, 1772.

In the 1760s, growth opportunities in land development in the British colonies created a credit boom in the world's financial capitals of London and Amsterdam. Banking houses began to extend credit, beyond assets available, to capitalize on the seemingly risk-free return rates.⁵⁹⁴ In this era, a bank's ability to extend itself was based solely on the confidence of its investors to maintain their funds on deposit.

The first domino fell in June 1772. A prominent partner in one of the top London banking firms publicly fled to France to avoid repaying a failed speculative venture. News of his departure created a run on his bank's assets. The visible behavior by the public-turned-mob triggered a panic across the broader banking industry. An exponentially increasing wave of citizens rushed their own banks, demanding immediate cash withdrawals. Within two weeks, as the panic spread to Scotland and Amsterdam, 22 great banking houses collapsed. The East India Trading company, which had been heavily invested in those banks, had to be bailed out by British taxpayers.⁵⁹⁵

b. American Colonies: The Revolutionary War, 1777.

Come the winter of 1776, General George Washington knew the Continental Army was on the verge of collapse. Lack of funds, clothing, and equipment were causing mass desertions leaving less than 4,000 ready troops. If the British only 50 miles away found out, they would likely press the attack, easily destroying the last vestige of the colonies' organized forces. Understanding the power of perception, Gen.

⁵⁹³ Dhammadharo, "The Department of Spreading the Dhamma."

⁵⁹⁴ Henry Hamilton, "The Failure of the Ayr Bank, 1772," in *Economic History Review* 8, no. 3 (1956): 411.

⁵⁹⁵ Richard B. Sheridan, "The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American Colonies," in *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 172.

Washington and Col. Boudinot staged their meager forces throughout greater Morristown, New Jersey. “They garrisoned two to three men in every mansion, farm house, and shack dotting the Morristown Road, creating the illusion among civilians that there were American soldiers wherever a person looked.”⁵⁹⁶ Even the pro-colonial locals, who should have known otherwise, became convinced by the visual proof that Washington must have close to 40,000 troops. The demonstration worked. The British commander, General Sir William Howe, did not attack Washington’s forces that winter, thereby saving the Colonial Army and rebellion.⁵⁹⁷

c. Germany: Nazi Salute and Salutation, 1933.

In July 1933, the Nazi Regime issued an edict requiring Germans to use the “Nazi salute” and salutation “Heil Hitler!” in all official and most public social exchanges. The edict read, “all who wish to avoid the suspicion of consciously obstructionist behavior will use the Hitler salute.”⁵⁹⁸ On the ground, people complied, some willingly, most initially out of fear. Either motivation is irrelevant when considering the signal of social proof broadcast to the world.

In Germany, the salute started among members of the core political party, but soon spread through judicious implementation by “instigators” during public parades and speech events. “With everybody using it, those who were perhaps initially reluctant could feel hopelessly outnumbered.”⁵⁹⁹ The result was rapid adoption to avoid standing out against the growing majority. “Many foreign observers were disturbed by the rapidity with which the new greeting took hold...it spread with incredible speed and seemingly unstoppable momentum.”⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁶ Peter F. Stevens, “Early Disinformation Campaign,” in *Military History* (1992): 16.

⁵⁹⁷ Stevens, “Early Disinformation Campaign,” 16.

⁵⁹⁸ Tilman Allert, *The Hitler Salute: On the Meaning of a Gesture* (New York: Picador, 2009), 7.

⁵⁹⁹ Richard J. Evans, “All Hailed: The Meaning of the Hitler Salute,” Book Review of *The Hitler Salute* by Tilman Allert, 16 April 2008, <http://www.nysun.com/arts/all-hailed-the-meaning-of-the-hitler-salute/74744/>.

⁶⁰⁰ Allert, *The Hitler Salute*, 7.

Up through the start of World War II, the American Boy Scouts and public schools employed the same outstretched arm salute to the American flag. As the in-group/out-group separation solidified Germany as America's enemy, the practice was purposely abandoned. To the world, the video and still photos showing masses of German citizens executing the salute reinforced the stereotype of the civilian population as willingly endorsing Hitler and his policies. Walt Disney rallied the home front with the immensely popular animated short film, *Der Fuehrer's Face*. The scenes and accompanying lyrics, "when der fuehrer says we is de master race, We heil, heil, right in der fueher's face," suggests the American people came to popularly regard the "heil" as symbolizing German solidarity and support for Hitler and his Nazi policies.⁶⁰¹

d. Malaysia: Counter-Insurgency Program, 1960.

By the end of WWII, the British colonial territory of Malaya had suffered a complete collapse of its export-based economy. Remnants of the anti-Japanese guerrilla force viewed the situation as an opportunity to end colonial rule and establish a "free" communist state. In 1948, the militant wing of the communist party, the Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA), initiated a wave of assassinations and infrastructure attacks to increase the costs of British rule and initiate a broader popular uprising. The poverty and disaffection among the Malayan population groups seemed to offer ideal conditions for acquiring insurgent recruits, supplies, and shelter.⁶⁰²

The British devised the Briggs Plan, a comprehensive counter-insurgency (COIN) approach that fused civil and security operations and deliberately put a Malayan face on all efforts to thwart the insurgents' anti-imperialism propaganda focus. "By utilizing local civil and police resources as much as possible, and through effective administration and unified management, the British and Malaysians were able to achieve

⁶⁰¹ YouTube, "Der Fuehrer's Face," <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KA6HHgJC5BE>.

⁶⁰² Jay G. Simpson, "Not by Bombs Alone: Lessons from Malaya," in *Joint Forces Quarterly* (Summer 1999): 92.

success at remarkably low cost.”⁶⁰³ As the 12 year counterinsurgency progressed, the British-Malayan Federation employed similar methods to publicly and actively involve the half million ethnic Chinese, to separate this last bastion of recruitment from the insurgency. The British created and empowered the Home Guard, a local defense force staffed with ethnic Malayan-Chinese. “By 1955 about a quarter of the new [ethnic Chinese] villages had become responsible for their own defense.”⁶⁰⁴ The pervasiveness of “everyday” Malayans publicly taking action, rejecting the insurgent agenda, served as a persistent social proof signal to the broader Malayan citizenry; “similar others” were working in and with the government, “similar others” were resisting, and the insurgents were not “similar others.”

4. Information Age

a. Arab Mediterranean: Arab Spring, 2010.

On 17 December 2010, Tunisian police publicly assaulted an unlicensed street vegetable vendor and confiscated his cart. The cart had been providing Mohammed Bouazizi’s sole source of income for himself, his mother, and six siblings. An hour later, in front of the government center, he set himself on fire. His death two weeks later served as a catalyst for uniting a broad range of Tunisian interest groups and eliciting popular participation in a string of anti-government protests. Within a month, the sheer scale of the participation in the demonstrations induced the president to flee. “The momentum in Tunisia set off uprisings across the Middle East that became known as the Arab Spring.”⁶⁰⁵

Twelve days after protests began in Tunisia, which were covered around the globe by all forms of media, Algerians took to their streets demanding political reform. Two weeks later, after reports heralded the final fall of the Tunisian government,

⁶⁰³ R.W. Komer, *The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect: Organization of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1972), vii.

⁶⁰⁴ Komer, *The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect*, 54.

⁶⁰⁵ NPR, “The Arab Spring: A Year of Revolution,” 17 December 2011, <http://www.npr.org/2011/12/17/143897126/the-arab-spring-a-year-of-revolution>.

demonstrations erupted in the streets of Jordan and Oman. By the end of the next week, an estimated 50,000 Egyptians filled Tahrir Square calling for the removal of their president. Within a week, the Egyptian daily demonstrations had grown in size to an estimated 300,000. Two days after the initial Egyptian protest filled the news, Yemenis initiated their public protests. “Inspired by the revolts in Egypt and Tunisia, thousands of Yemenis took to the streets Thursday demanding an end to the government of President Ali Abdullah Saleh.”⁶⁰⁶ On 11 February, the Egyptian government fell; that week, public protests began in Bahrain, Libya, Kuwait, and Morocco. Tracing the demonstrations’ growth and timing suggests that visible demonstrations as *social proof* at some point sent sufficiently credible signals of “appropriate” behavior to generate replication.

b. Morocco: King’s Loyalty Ritual, 2012.

It was not until 1956 that Morocco finally attained its independence from foreign powers, lastly France. With a rich history of sultanic rule, the nation restored its monarchy, but with a modified democratic constitution. After six years, Morocco held its first parliamentary elections. Simultaneously, the king initiated a yearly ritual when the parliament would publicly reconfirm its recognition of his right to rule. Each July 30 since, all central and district government functionaries present themselves at the palace for an elaborate ceremony of “bowing and chanting: ‘May God protect our king.’”⁶⁰⁷

This annual demonstration of allegiance is prominently covered by the media, sending the signal to the farthest reaches of the kingdom that the democratically elected government endorses the king as supreme ruler. This ceremony has taken on special significance and controversy since the Arab Spring first erupted in Morocco in February 2011. As part of a pacification strategy, the king agreed to a new constitution, in which he ceded half of his power to a parliament-appointed prime minister. However,

⁶⁰⁶ Sudarsan Raghavan, “Inspired by Tunisia and Egypt, Yemenis Join in Anti-Government Protests,” *Washington Post*, 27 January 2011, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/27/AR2011012702081.html>.

⁶⁰⁷ Simon Martelli, “Protest Over Morocco King’s Loyalty Ritual Highlights Tension,” *Agence France-Presse*, 24 August 2012, <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iL-sPVYaDTFBuxsIX0ydVsUYG3gw?docId=CNG.70a031fd8f1cbe07c563f19c1c6f856f.1a1>.

even those party representatives who were, and most likely still are, against monarchical rule still must bow and swear allegiance to the king during this annual ceremony. The image of democratic reformers in supplication to the king signaled to the restive populace that even the most vocal critics in the opposition recommended deferential allegiance.

c. United States: Moral Majority Religious Group, 1979.

The conservative Christian advocacy group, the Moral Majority, was founded in 1979 by popular televangelist preacher Reverend Jerry Falwell. Falwell sought to mobilize the broad but disjointed American conservative Christian base under a single organized umbrella, so that its “voting” numbers could be wielded to influence political policy.⁶⁰⁸ “With the rising popularity of the television broadcast of the Reverend Jerry Falwell, the Moral Majority grew quickly, expanding its membership by appealing to those individuals and communities who had traditionally been overlooked by other conservative social movements.”⁶⁰⁹

To stimulate growth, he used mass mailings, television appearances, and wide ranging sermon tours. “In a [mass mailed] pamphlet in which Reverend Falwell answered the question, ‘What is the Moral Majority?’ he noted that the organization was, at its height, ‘made up of millions of Americans,’ and that among the Moral Majority’s membership were 72,000 ministers, [Catholic] priests, and [Jewish] rabbis.”⁶¹⁰ Message repetition and membership statistics provided social proof signals to the broader conservative Christian community about the “correctness” of his particular organization for setting the norms of expected Christian behavior.

⁶⁰⁸ Interhemispheric Resource Center, “Moral Majority,” *RightWeb*, 2 January 1990, http://rightweb.irc-online.org/articles/display/Moral_Majority#P7576_1504238.

⁶⁰⁹ Nicole Smith, “The History of Falwell and the Moral Majority,” *ArticleMyriad*, 16 January 2012, <http://www.articlemyriad.com/history-falwell-moral-majority/>.

⁶¹⁰ Smith, “The History of Falwell and the Moral Majority.”

5. Multi-Media Appeals

a. TV: Jif Peanut Butter “Choosy Moms,” 1993.

In the early nineties, Jif brand peanut butter launched its “Choosy Moms” slogan, which is still in use today. Their 1993 commercial begins with the statement, “Being a mom...it doesn’t come with instructions.” The narration builds through scenes of many different typical American mothers doing the “right” thing by selecting Jif peanut butter.⁶¹¹ In this way, Jif is providing some of the guidance for how to be a good mom.



Figure 14. Jif Peanut Butter 1993 TV commercial, entitled “Choosy Moms Choose Jif,” from YouTube.

The use of a broad range of mother images has two principal effects; first, the average Mom is more likely to recognize herself in at least one of the Moms shown; second, it models the appropriate behavior of “good” moms. It suggests to the potential Mom-customer that *should* she be able to peek into the homes of “great” Moms, she would find them all using Jif.

b. TV: Ford Taurus “Spread the Word” Commercial, 2010.

Spokesperson Mike Rowe is the well-recognized blue collar star of the reality TV show *Dirty Jobs*. Dressed in his “average” guy clothes, he informs the viewer that he is at a coffee shop in “Any Town, U.S.A,” to find out what people (just like the viewer) think about the new Ford Taurus. He then chats with males and females, families

⁶¹¹ YouTube, “Jif Peanut Butter Commercial From 1993 – Being a Mom,” http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uxhgT_piWZY.

and singles, engaging them in unscripted conversation to reveal their “unbiased” opinions. After listening to information about the car, the relatable single guy sitting in the driver’s seat with Rowe at the open window, wonders aloud, “Time for a new car?” Rowe supports his conclusion by replying, “That’s what I’m thinking.”⁶¹²

In addition to Mike Rowe’s extreme likability, this commercial allows the consumer to assume accurate social proof given the “unscripted” nature of the conversation. The commercial’s depiction of a broad range of people suggests this slice of Americans represents the majority’s view of “correct” behavior. The majority is assumed to endorse the Ford Taurus.

c. *Image: McDonald’s “# Served” Signs, 1958.*

In 1948, the first McDonald restaurant opened to the public. By 1958 the franchise had sold its 100 millionth hamburger, with the milestone prominently advertised and updated on most of its restaurants’ iconic golden arches signs.⁶¹³ In 1994, after reaching the 99 billionth hamburger sold, McDonald’s stopped updating the signs, opting instead for the permanent “Billions and Billions Served.”⁶¹⁴



Figure 15. McDonald’s 1950s restaurant sign, from Xsquared.wikispaces.com.

⁶¹² YouTube, “Ford Taurus Commercial ‘Spread the Word,’” uploaded May 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8PeNMe8Pg9w>.

⁶¹³ McDonalds, “McDonald’s History,” http://www.mcdonalds.com/us/en/our_story.html.

⁶¹⁴ Spencer Jakab, “McDonald’s 300-Billionth Burger Delayed,” *Wall Street Journal*, 22 January 2013, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887323301104578258113829116672.html>.

⁶¹⁵ Photo source, http://xsquared.wikispaces.com/file/view/Old_McDonalds_Henry_Ford_Museum.jpg/146775981/Old_McDonalds_Henry_Ford_Museum.jpg.



Figure 16. McDonald's 2000s restaurant sign, from Blu.stb.s-msn.com.

Although this added bit of data on McDonald's signs may not overtly drive a consumer's patronage decision, its repeated reference should send subconscious confirmation that a choice to eat at McDonald's is a socially endorsed solution; it has been tested and approved by an immense social majority.

d. Image: Amazon.com Customer Product Ratings, 2013.

In the age of quick and mobile access to the Internet, even in-store shoppers can take time to pull out their device and quickly review a product's standing with "similar others." Amazon is one company that embraced promoting customer feedback, both positive and negative, about the products it brokered. "The presence of customer reviews on a website has been shown to improve customer perception of the usefulness and social presence of the website."⁶¹⁷ This has helped build up Amazon's image of strong credibility, with customers accepting that the posted reviews are both genuine and truly indicative of product quality.

For example, a customer searching for an "upright bag-less vacuum cleaner" no longer needs to have any technical familiarity with vacuum cleaner performance prior to "shopping." Initially, Amazon presents him with 1,026 options. But he can, and most often does, seek ways to vet the selection to a more manageable

⁶¹⁶ Photo source, <http://blu.stb.s-msn.com/i/1D/D8A8C7A676F88DD879380F9695414.jpg>.

⁶¹⁷ Susan M. Mudambi and David Schuff, "What Makes a Helpful Online Review? A Study of Customer Reviews on Amazon.com," in *MIS Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (2010): 186.

number. Price is usually the first criterion, but ultimately it is the volume of “trusted” customer reviews that influence final purchase selection.

There are many layers of social proof offered by Amazon and readily employed by the customer. He can choose to view only those models that are bestsellers or he can sort by average customer rating. Each pictured model also lists the total number of posted reviews, indicating most buyers’ preference and the weight of that preference. Amazon has recently engineered the page so that when the customer’s cursor scrolls over a product model, another “social proof” pop-up appears. See Figure 14.



Figure 17. Vacuum Cleaner Customer Reviews, from Amazon.com.

This information signal not only provides the shopper with the spread of average ratings, but also lists three concise customer statements that were most often repeated throughout the reviews. At the end of the process, the uncertain buyer is comforted by the many indicators that many “similar others” have made his same choice.

e. ***Political: Obama “Dinner with Barack” Campaign Fundraiser, 2012.***

In the run-up to the 2012 presidential election, incumbent President Obama launched a donation contest that offered donors the chance to win a private group dinner with him. The amount of money raised was less significant than the persuasive message from the images of everyday Americans expressing their concerns and voicing their support for the President’s reelection bid. Five randomly selected donors, who

⁶¹⁸ Amazon.com, search results for “upright bagless vacuum cleaner,” sorted by most popular, price range between \$100 and \$200 dollars, and by average customer rating, http://www.amazon.com/s/ref=nb_sb_noss_1?url=search-alias%3Dgarden&field-keywords=vacuum+cleaner#/ref=sr_nr_p_36_3?rh=n%3A1055398%2Ck%3Aupright+bagless+vacuum+cleaner%2Cp_72%3A1248915011%2Cp_36%3A1253526011&keywords=upright+bagless+vacuum+cleaner&ie=UTF8&qid=1368028904&rmid=386465011.

entered the contest by donating at least five dollars, joined the President in a public restaurant for a “frank and earnest” discussion covered by the media and re-presented in campaign ads.



Figure 18. Barack Obama presidential campaign 2012 fundraising commercial, entitled “Dinner with Barack,” from abcnews.go.com.

The video opens with “raw” footage of these five Americans at their homes, getting ready, talking to the camera, expressing their “open mindedness.” Soon they are chatting face-to-face with the President, who responds confidently to their inquiries. By the end, the five confirm that the President is the best choice and they intend to vote for him.⁶²⁰ The use of randomly selected Americans suggests to the viewer a “credible” probability that their conclusion and behavior represents that of the majority. Their endorsement and determination to vote for Obama sends the signal that, in the name of the majority, they have decided what is the “correct” behavior: re-elect Obama.

f. Political- Keystone Pipeline Protests, 2013.

With the advancement of new technologies and the price rise of global crude oil, the generally untapped petroleum resources of the Alberta Canada oil sands have become economically viable for extraction. The Keystone Pipeline project would build a pipeline from Alberta, down through the United States, to refineries along the

⁶¹⁹ Eliza, “Obama Campaign Offering ‘Dinner With Barack’ For \$5,” *ABC News*, 16 June 2011, <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/06/obama-campaign-offering-dinner-with-barack-for-5/>.

⁶²⁰ YouTube, “Dinner with Barack: Two Teachers, an Army Veteran, a Small Business Owner,” 21 November 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tb5D71aQAoo>.

Gulf coast of Louisiana.⁶²¹ The project has become hotly contested by environmental groups, resulting in a string of escalating protests.

On 13 February 2013, 48 activists demonstrated in front of the White House, resulting in their well-publicized arrest. The United States has a current population estimate of over 311 million people. The 48 people at this protest represented .00001 of 1%, yet the dramatic style of reporting about them and the framing of the images suggested that a much bigger group was involved. This increased the credibility of the event's social proof signal to others.

The first photo, from the news media, is tightly framed, containing emotion and action; it subconsciously implies that the density of people seen in the photo is proportional to a greater group just out of camera view. The second photo by an amateur provides some "true" scale regarding the number of participants; the gathering seems somewhat insignificant compared to popular memories of past mass demonstrations.



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Figure 19. Action-shot, protest of the Keystone Pipeline, 13 February 2013, in front of the White House, from sl.ibtimes.com.

⁶²¹ Trans Canada, "Keystone Pipeline: About the Project," <http://keystone-xl.com/about/the-project/>.

⁶²² Photo source, http://farm9.staticflickr.com/8101/8471617852_0baf6cc730_z.jpg.



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Figure 20. Group-shot, protest of the Keystone Pipeline, 13 February 2013, in front of the White House, from farm9.staticflickr.com.

On 17 February 2013, an estimated 35,000 protesters gathered in Washington, D.C. in large part to protest the Keystone Pipeline.⁶²⁴ In contrast here, the visual coverage in the media was able to signal social proof with its more “natural” shot reflecting the volume of people present.



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Figure 21. Climate Change Rally held 17 February 2013 on the Mall in Washington, D.C., from USAtoday.com

D. LIKING

When the situation is unclear, when there is insufficient quantitative data to make a decision one way or another, humans have learned that adhering to the advice of

⁶²³ Valerie Volcovici, “Thousands at Climate Rally in Washington Call on Obama to Reject Keystone Pipeline,” 17 February 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/17/us-usa-climate-keystone-protest-idUSBRE91G0GZ20130217>.

⁶²⁴ Photo source, http://s1.ibtimes.com/sites/www.ibtimes.com/files/styles/v2_article_large/public/2013/02/14/rfk-jr-arrested-daryl-hannah-connor-kennedy-other-activists-during-keystone-xl-oil-pipeline-protest_2.jpg.

⁶²⁵ Photo source, *USA Today*, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2013/02/17/climate-change-rally-human-pipeline/1925719/>.

someone they like or going with a gut “positive” feeling, seems to generally achieve a satisfactory outcome. The three main facets of this principle used in persuasion tactics are that people assign increased liking to similar others; they assign greater credibility to someone who gives off a good vibe; and they extend positive liking to those who are in the company of those they already like.

1. Cialdini

a. Similar-familiar: Tupperware Party.

Since 2003, the sales strategy of the Tupperware Corporation has relied exclusively on home party sales. The official Tupperware representative for the geographic area solicits a local housewife to host a Tupperware party in exchange for a percentage of the sales or free merchandise. Cialdini notes, “in this way, the attraction, the warmth, the security, and the obligation of friendship are brought to bear.”⁶²⁶ From that point on, the exchange becomes a social event, where a local woman invites her local neighbors, co-workers, and friends in to her home. She personally solicits orders, but on behalf of the unknown Tupperware official representative. “The strength of that social bond is twice as likely to determine product purchase as is preference for the product itself.”⁶²⁷ This social pressure technique is not unique to the U.S.; Tupperware utilizes the home party model in its European, Latin American, and Asian operations as well.

b. Positive Affect: Car Salesman Greeting Cards.

Humans like to be liked and so feel compelled to return and extend liking when possible. This is one reason why even obvious flattery still produces a positive affect toward the flatterer. Cialdini relates the story of Joe Girard, the world’s “greatest car salesman,” (according to the Guinness Book of World Records for twelve consecutive years). His influence strategy was simple, yet very effective. He told his prospective and past customers that he liked them. Presto! He mailed each of these recipients a card, once

⁶²⁶ Cialdini, *Influence*, 142.

⁶²⁷ Cialdini, *Influence*, 142.

a month that said, “I like you.”⁶²⁸ “He made sure that he was in peoples’ minds when they had to buy a car. And that is how he sold 6 cars a day, every day.”⁶²⁹ People adopted a positive affect for Joe and began to consider their relationship with him to be of rewarding value.

c. *Halo Effect: Celebrity Spokesperson.*

Humans crave status. One simple and “cost effective” way to gain prestige is to establish a strong vicarious connection to those who already have it. Cialdini, speaking about the benefits of commitment to a winning sports team, relates that “if we can surround ourselves with success that we are connected with in even a superficial way...our public prestige will rise.”⁶³⁰

With an assumption that major S&P 500 commercial companies generally make decisions based on increasing their profitability and that those decisions are generally sound, those who employ celebrity endorsement campaigns do so because they work. Before he was engulfed in scandal in 2010, Tiger Woods earned an estimated \$100 million per year from endorsements. Michael Jordan, retired from basketball in 2003, continues to receive \$45 million a year from Nike.⁶³¹ These celebrity-figures are immensely popular, admired as winners, and have the credibility as “good” people to recommend just about anything. This supports the association principle, in that “positive” affect can be transferred by mere conceptual or physical proximity.

⁶²⁸ Cialdini, *Influence*, 150.

⁶²⁹ Biz Tactics, “How Did Joe Girard Sell 6 Cars a Day, Everyday?” <http://www.biztactics.com/bullet-joe-girard.php>.

⁶³⁰ Cialdini, *Influence*, 167.

⁶³¹ Compare Business Products, “12 Rich Celebrities Moonlighting as Expensive Spokespeople,” 29 March 2010, <http://www.comparebusinessproducts.com/fyi/12-rich-celebrities-moonlighting-expensive-spokespeople>.

2. Ancient and Medieval Age

a. Asia: *Battle of Tigranocerta, 69 B.C.*

During the Third Mithridatic War, between Rome and the alliance of the Empires of Pontus (modern-day Turkey) and Armenia, the Romans knew their best chance lay in first defeating the King of Armenia. This would separate Pontus from his ally on his critical southern flank. Lucullus, the Commander of the Roman Legion, rapidly moved his forces toward the fortified Armenian capital of Tigranocerta. The Euphrates, usually not crossable in winter, had long served as a natural barrier to invasion. However, in the *Life of Lucullus*, Plutarch notes “in the evening the water began to subside, and it went on falling all through the night, and at daybreak the bed of the river was empty.” Lucullus pushed on and entered Armenia. A messenger soon arrived at the Armenian court, relating the bad news. “The first person who reported to Tigranes that Lucullus was in the country got nothing for his pains, but had his head cut off, nobody else would tell him, and Tigranes was sitting in ignorance while the fires of war were burning round him.”⁶³²

The proverbial shooting of the messenger reflects the strong influence of the liking principle. From the initial messenger to his trusted friend Mithrobarzanes, anyone associated with bad news was disdained and disregarded by King Tigranes to the ultimate peril of his kingdom. He fled, an estimated 100,000 of his soldiers were killed, and his namesake capital city was looted and destroyed.

b. Rome: *Coliseum Games, 69 A.D.*

The rulers of Rome knew well that they were best served and protected by maintaining the pleasure of the mob. Under Nero, the Empire had been experiencing a period of strong civil discontent. When Nero unexpectedly committed suicide, the Empire fell into civil war. Vespasian ultimately won power, but he knew that he had to

⁶³² Plutarch, “Life of Lucullus,” in *Plutarch’s Lives Volume II*, trans. Aubrey Stewart and George Long (London: George Bell and Sons, 1899), paragraph 25, 454, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/14114/14114-h/14114-h.htm#LIFE_OF_LUCULLUS.

both drastically increase taxes and secure broad popular support.⁶³³ “On reaching Rome he bestowed gifts upon both the soldiers and the populace. He also repaired the sacred precincts and the public works which had suffered injury and rebuilt such as had already fallen into ruin.”⁶³⁴

Similarly, his predecessor a century earlier, Julius Caesar, knew the importance of taking action to “boost the morale of the people whose support he counted on.”⁶³⁵ Even though Caesar was “successfully” assassinated in the Senate, Brutus and his group failed to realize that the general public had come to adore their Emperor. Brutus and Cassius were politically transferred away from their positions in Rome, in part to appease the displeased public.

c. Religion

The four most populous religions (Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam) all seem to recognize that people tend to like and consequently listen more attentively to those who seem most similar to themselves and who have “walked a mile in their shoes.” Good orators look for salient cues in their audience’s vocabulary, use of imagery, and speech patterns to better tailor their own style. In the *Bible*, the apostle Paul relates his technique for proselytizing. “To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might win Jews;...to the weak I became as weak, that I might win the weak. I have become all things to all men.”⁶³⁶ Jesus, in many anecdotes, demonstrates a deliberate use of certain words and concepts that are tailored to his audience. In Matthew 4, Jesus addresses fishermen: “He saw two brothers, Simon who was called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea; for they were fishermen. And He said to them, ‘Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men.’”⁶³⁷ To the Samaritan woman drawing water at the well, Jesus

⁶³³ Roman Colosseum, “Building the Roman Colosseum,” <http://www.roman-colosseum.info/colosseum/building-the-colosseum.htm>.

⁶³⁴ Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, translated copy (1925), http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/65*.html

⁶³⁵ Taylor, “Propaganda in the Ancient World,” 41.

⁶³⁶ *Bible*, Corinthians 9:19.

⁶³⁷ *Bible*, Matthew 4:19.

replies, “Everyone who drinks this water will be thirsty again, but whoever drinks the water I give them will never thirst. Indeed, the water I give them will become in them a spring of water welling up to eternal life.”⁶³⁸

The early Islamic faith broadened its appeal by professing respect for a host of prophets, to include those from Christianity and Judaism. “Traditionally, five prophets are recognized by Islam as having been sent by God (known as *ulul azmi*, “the Resolute”): Noah (Nuh), Abraham (Ibrahim), Moses (Musa), Jesus (Isa), Muhammad.”⁶³⁹ In line with the principle of reciprocity, this offering of respect and liking could have generated a tendency for prospective recruits to associate with Islam more positively.

Similarly, Hinduism and Buddhism both capitalize on avoiding negative affect. They do not disparage or refute “competing” religious beliefs or require adherents to limit the personalization of their religious connection. “God can be approached in a number of ways and a devoted person can relate to God as a majestic king, as a parent figure, as a friend, as a child, as a beautiful woman, or even as a ferocious Goddess. Each person can relate to God in a particular form, the *Ishta Devata*, or desired form of God.”⁶⁴⁰

3. Modern Age

a. Japan/Russia: Portsmouth Treaty Negotiation, 1905.

By the end of 1903, the Japanese had concluded that the rate of Russian incursions into Manchuria and Korea represented an imminent existential threat. In February 1904, the Japanese initiated a surprise attack on the anchored Russian fleet at Port Arthur, China. Over the next year, Japan decimated Russia’s remaining Pacific fleet and occupied all of Korea and much of the Manchurian coastline. The Russians suffered

⁶³⁸ *Bible*, John 4:10.

⁶³⁹ Religion Facts, “The Role of Prophets in Islam,” <http://www.religionfacts.com/islam/beliefs/prophets.htm>.

⁶⁴⁰ BBC, “Religion at a Glance: Introduction to Hinduism,” 9 September 2009, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/hinduism/ata glance/glance.shtml>.

more than 150,000 deaths, but the Tsar had a seemingly endless supply of human capital. The Japanese were on the verge of defaulting on huge foreign loans that had so far paid for their war. Both countries had much to lose and had so far stubbornly opposed settlement, with each believing it still retained the upper hand.⁶⁴¹

Fearing an escalation into a broader global conflict, one involving the United States, President Theodore Roosevelt contacted both governments and offered to serve as the neutral arbitrator. After much posturing, both sides accepted in principle, mainly because “the only actor both sides felt they could trust was the United States.”⁶⁴² This placed Roosevelt, who was personally generally respected, in an advantageous position. Throughout the negotiations he was able to use personal appeals to get both sides to moderate and remain at the table.

Both the Russians and the Japanese seemed to recognize the benefits associated with the liking principle as evidenced in their selection of negotiators. The Russians chose their Council of Ministers, Sergei Witte. Stanton comments in *Great Negotiations* that Witte had “a hypnotic quality about him...’his great, earnest, eloquent eyes held you.’”⁶⁴³ Witte’s assistant had been a former ambassador to Japan and “was highly regarded by the Japanese, and it was hoped that his engaging personality and urbane manners” would prove useful. Japan’s assistant negotiator had been an ambassador to the United States and “had [previously] impressed Roosevelt with his reliability and integrity.” The Japanese also employed an unofficial third party advocate, Baron Kaneko Kentaro, who was highly respected by the Japanese and was a former Harvard classmate of Roosevelt.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴¹ History Learning Site, “The Russo Japanese War,” <http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/russo-japanese%20war.htm>.

⁶⁴² Fredrick Stanton, “The Portsmouth Treaty,” in *Great Negotiations: Agreements That Changed the Modern World* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2010), 70.

⁶⁴³ Stanton, “The Portsmouth Treaty,” 72.

⁶⁴⁴ Stanton, “The Portsmouth Treaty,” 74.

b. *Damascus: Ottoman Rule by Pashas, 1880–1918.*

During the last half of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire, the “sick man of Europe,” was fast losing its capability to directly enforce its rule over the fringes of its shrinking territory. In what is modern day Syria, the Empire sent only a governor (*Pasha*), a few bodyguards, and a large amount of currency. This enabled the solitary governor to bribe key influential individuals. Not speaking the language and unfamiliar with local customs, governors depended on “those local forces in the great cities that had independent influence in society.”⁶⁴⁵ The governors knew that once they had purchased a “notable’s” compliance for a specific mission, the notables would be more successful at “selling” and policing a behavioral change since they would be recognized as “similar” and could affect one’s social status.

c. *India: Mahatma Gandhi, 1919.*

For a century and a half England commanded the territory of India. England was able to maximize capital extraction by exploiting the cheap labor pool of an overpopulated and impoverished country. In 1920, Gandhi became the leader of the main political group seeking Indian independence.⁶⁴⁶ After concluding that Indians would not defeat the British through conventional politics or force, he embarked on a social movement of non-violence and non-cooperation.

Gandhi modified his appearance to appeal to most poor Indians. He “understood the need for showmanship...he dressed in simple sandals and a loincloth that represented the daily attire of male laborers in India.”⁶⁴⁷ His strategy worked in both the short and long term. During two decades of civil disobedience, his mass popularity often kept him out of jail. “The English authorities were not quite sure how to deal with him,

⁶⁴⁵ Philip S. Khoury, “Syrian Political Culture: A Historical Perspective,” in *Syria: Society, Culture, and Polity*, eds. Richard T. Antoun and Donald Quataert (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 14.

⁶⁴⁶ West Michigan University, “Colonial India, Gandhi, and Eventual Independence,” <http://www.wmich.edu/dialogues/themes/indiagandhi.html>.

⁶⁴⁷ Charles J. Stewart, Craig A. Smith, and Robert E. Denton, “Leadership in Social Movements,” in *Persuasion and Social Movements*, 4th Edition (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2001), 113.

for he was revered by the people of India— a population at the time of somewhere near 350 million.”⁶⁴⁸ In the long term, he was able to galvanize a nation of 350 million by emulating the habits of their culturally revered gurus.⁶⁴⁹

4. Information Age

a. Indonesia: Employment of Moderate Islamists, 2010.

In October 2002, the Southeast Asian Islamic terror group, Jemaah Islamiyah, detonated several bombs on the island of Bali, killing more than 200 people. Over the next few years, this extremist group along with others manipulated anger toward the U.S. and the “apostate” Indonesian government to drive recruitment and expand operations.⁶⁵⁰

The Indonesian government understood the best way to curb extremism was to provide more attractive voices, to include ideally a moderate voice to preach an equally convincing Islamic narrative but one that excluded violence as a permissible solution for addressing dissatisfaction.

Perhaps the most successful country to combat jihadism has been the world’s most populous Muslim nation, Indonesia. In 2002 that country seemed destined for a long and painful struggle with the forces of radical Islam. The nation was rocked by terror attacks, and a local Qaeda affiliate, Jemaah Islamiyah, appeared to be gaining strength. But eight years later, JI has been marginalized and main-stream political parties have gained ground, all while a young democracy has flowered after the collapse of the Suharto dictatorship.⁶⁵¹

Indonesia mobilized and empowered local moderate Islamic clerics to reach into their susceptible populations. The pace of the turnaround is in large part attributable to the

⁶⁴⁸ West Michigan University, “Colonial India, Gandhi, and Eventual Independence,” <http://www.wmich.edu/dialogues/themes/indiagandhi.html>.

⁶⁴⁹ Stewart et al., “Leadership in Social Movements,” 113.

⁶⁵⁰ Agence France-Presse, “Key Attacks in Indonesia, History of Jemaah Islamiyah,” *Asian One News*, 17 July 2009, <http://www.asiaone.com/News/Latest%2BNews/Asia/Story/A1Story20090717-155372.html>.

⁶⁵¹ Fareed Zakaria, “The Jihad against Jihadis: How Moderate Muslim Leaders Waged War on Extremists—and Won,” *Newsweek* (FEB, 2010), <http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2010/02/11/the-jihad-against-the-jihadis.print.html>.

success of using locally recognized and well-liked “similar others” to promote change from within.

b. United States: President Bush’s Ground Zero Speech, 2001.

As most remember all too well, the unexpected 11 September 2001 attacks unnerved the nation and the Western world. Citizens in every corner of the union had to reevaluate assumptions about their own immunity from such unimaginable violence.

The President addressed the nation from Ground Zero. He climbed atop the rubble, bullhorn in one hand, and his other wrapped warmly around the shoulders of a fireman in uniform. The President stood dressed in casual clothes and bantered with the nearby crowd of rescue workers. He had created a set of powerful cues to suggest solidarity with the heroic exploits of the emergency crews, who were highly admired by the public.⁶⁵²

At first, Bush’s speech seemed disjointed, too finely polished and politically correct. His emotional connection to the audience, both onsite and by TV, seemed disjointed. But then, in response to several workers’ unprompted shouts, “Go get ‘em George!,” followed by “we can’t hear you,” referring to the bullhorn, the President switched his tone and grammar to that of a seemingly off the cuff “average Joe.” “I can hear you! I can hear you! The rest of the world hears you! And the people -- and the people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon!”⁶⁵³ That is finally when spontaneous eruptions of “U.S.A.! U.S.A.!” erupted from Ground Zero and this viewer’s positive affect for the President increased significantly.

c. South America: Invoking Simón Bolívar, 1999.

Populations have often been rallied by invoking iconic war heroes or martyrs. Because their legacy is in the past, their reputation remains relatively immutable

⁶⁵² YouTube, “George W. Bush Ground Zero Bullhorn Speech 9-14-01,” http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U1rtoP4l_yg.

⁶⁵³ Dan Spencer, “President Bush on the Bullhorn Address at Ground Zero, 14 September 2001,” *Examiner*, 11 September 2011, <http://www.examiner.com/article/president-bush-on-the-bullhorn-address-at-ground-zero>.

to refutation in the present. However, those in power can add or highlight the most desirable characteristics to suit their purpose. In the case of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez selected Simón Bolívar as the namesake for his populist socialist revolution. “By drawing upon the legacy of Bolívar, Chávez has been successful in exciting the masses and adding a sense of legitimacy to his ‘revolutionary’ movement.”⁶⁵⁴

Two centuries previously, Bolívar was credited with leading the resistance that won independence from Spain for modern day Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama. He remains a very well-known and liked folk hero. “I say this all the time, you know, we don’t have a George Washington Party in this country. But in this day, in South America, there is the Bolivarian Party; you do go down the street yelling Simón Bolívar’s name. He’s very much alive.”⁶⁵⁵

During Hugo Chavez’ rise to power and subsequent international projection of economic and political power, he constantly evoked the region’s most adored folk hero, absorbing by association the positive feelings people held for Bolívar. “In his marathon speeches [Chavez] extols the demigod Libertador the way priests summon Christ at Mass.”⁶⁵⁶ As one of his first acts in office, Chavez initiated constitutional referendums that included changing the name of the country. “The new [Venezuelan] constitution changed the country’s name, from ‘Republic of Venezuela’ to ‘Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.’ The new name is supposed to signal that Venezuela is just one of the countries that its founder, Simon Bolivar, liberated and that it could, in the future, belong to a federation of ‘Bolivarian Republics.’ Given the great importance that Simón Bolívar plays in Chávez’ political belief system, it should come as no surprise

⁶⁵⁴ Phillip Price, “How Bolivarian is the Bolivarian Revolution: Hugo Chávez and the Appropriation of History,” in *McNair Scholars Research Journal* 5, no. 1 (2009): 34–43.

⁶⁵⁵ NPR, “Enshrined And Oft-Invoked, Simón Bolívar Lives On,” quoting Marie Arana, 10 April 2013, <http://www.npr.org/2013/04/13/176783269/enshrined-and-oft-invoked-simon-bolivar-lives-on>.

⁶⁵⁶ Tim Padgett, “Why Venezuela’s Chavez Dug Up Bolívar’s Bones,” *Time Magazine*, 17 July 2010, <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2004526,00.html>.

that he would insist on this change.”⁶⁵⁷ By doing so, Chavez inherited by association the people’s positive feelings for Bolivar.

5. Multi-Media Appeals

a. TV: Hyundai “All for One” Super Bowl Ad, 2012.

In 1976, the movie Rocky debuted and quickly became that year’s highest grossing film. It went on to earn three Academy Awards and has since become an oft-referenced part of American culture.⁶⁵⁸ Its theme song, “Gonna Fly Now,” triggers especially strong positive emotions; it has come to symbolize the struggle of an underdog and the ability to overcome incredible odds, perhaps speaking directly to the root of American identity.

In this simple yet endearing ad, the Hyundai designer mumbles that his task is impossible. One by one, a small group, and then a flood of Hyundai employees converge, joining their voices in signing the “Rocky Theme Song.” The crowd grows and the song builds until seemingly the entire Hyundai plant converges on the designer to show their support.⁶⁵⁹ The viewing public is consciously and subconsciously accessing its positive past feelings for the movie, the song, and other associated memories. Hyundai gains some of that evoked positive liking just by its crafted association in the commercial.

b. TV: Oprah Winfrey Book Club, 2011.

The Oprah Winfrey daytime talk show first aired in 1986. “For 25 years, Winfrey has been the most popular talk show host in the United States, and one of the

⁶⁵⁷ Gregory Wilpert, “Venezuela’s New Constitution,” 27 August 2003, http://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/70#_ftnref2.

⁶⁵⁸ American Film Institute, “America’s Greatest Movies, Top 100,” <http://www.afi.com/docs/100years/movies100.pdf>.

⁶⁵⁹ YouTube, ““All For One” - Official Hyundai Big Game Commercial featuring Rocky Theme Song,” uploaded 31 January 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=USep_tB_5oU.

most powerful women in the country.”⁶⁶⁰ In her show’s last decade, she averaged 6 million viewers per day, five days a week. Her popularity became one of her greatest assets. In 1996, Oprah chose a book a week to discuss and recommend to her viewership. “The [Oprah] book club repeatedly made history. Winfrey got stores to order more than 500,000 copies of a book — not knowing its title, only that it was her next selection. Morrison, who was chosen four times, got a bigger sales boost from Winfrey than from winning the Nobel Prize for Literature.”⁶⁶¹ In 2008, Oprah publicly endorsed the candidacy of Barack Obama. She is widely credited with stimulating significant voter turnout. “The results of this [University of Maryland] study suggest that Oprah Winfrey’s endorsement of Barack Obama during the 2008 Democratic Presidential Primary had statistically and politically significant effects on Obama’s political outcomes. Winfrey’s involvement increased the share of the vote and the campaign contributions received by Obama, as well as the overall level of voter participation.”⁶⁶² Oprah had no political expertise, but she effectively lent her popular adoration to the President.

c. *Image: M&M’s, 1941.*

In the reigning marketing paradigm, relationship management, brand reputation is everything. With so many new choices available, the competition is stiff between so many products. To the consumer, familiarity is positively comforting while too many choices can generate anxiety. Companies learn that if they can establish a positive association with their brand ad “symbol” the customer faced with options will more often select the one with a familiar symbol.

In 1941, Mars Company introduced the now world-famous M&M’s chocolates. The stable nature of the candy allowed them to be shipped to soldiers during WWII. This exposure to the iconic “M” secured its place and likability among the post-

⁶⁶⁰ James Downie, “Oprah Winfrey’s True Popularity,” 18 May 2011, <http://www.newrepublic.com/blog/the-study/88637/oprah-winfrey-last-show-barack-obama-primary#>.

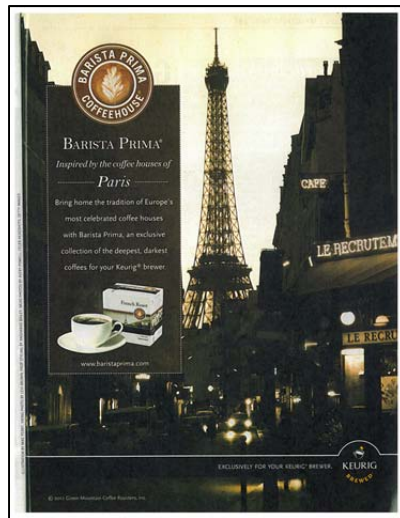
⁶⁶¹ Bob Minzesheimer, “How the ‘Oprah Effect’ Changed Publishing,” *USA Today*, 22 May, 2011, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/life/books/news/2011-05-22-Oprah-Winfrey-Book-Club_n.htm.

⁶⁶² Huffington Post, “The Oprah Effect: One Million Votes, Study Says,” 8 August 2008, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/08/08/the-oprah-effect-one-mill_n_117685.html.

war population. Candy, by its nature of being a treat, evokes positive feelings in humans. The “M” absorbs this affection and has transferred it to sales of a whole line of related products: M&M’s with peanuts, almonds, peanut butter, pretzel, rice crisp, raspberry, mint chocolate, and dark chocolate. Until 2012, M&M’s was the number one candy sold in the world with a 2012 global sales of \$3.38 billion.⁶⁶³ It has been successful at building and extending positive familiarity as a transferrable commodity.

d. Image: Barista Prima French Roast Coffee, 2013.

Green Mountain Coffee Roasters Company markets a broad range of coffees through various product lines. One of the more recent is Barista Prima, which is “inspired by the coffee houses of Europe.”⁶⁶⁴ Yet, the French Roast offering is neither grown in France nor imported from France. But, it deliberately uses the imagery of Paris to increase its customer appeal.



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Figure 22. Barista Prima Coffee 2013 print ad, from *Every Day with Rachael Ray* magazine.

⁶⁶³ E.J. Schultz, “Snickers Surging to Top of Global Candy Race,” 20 September 2012, *Advertising Age*, <http://adage.com/article/news/snickers-surging-top-global-candy-race/237349/>.

⁶⁶⁴ Barista Prima Coffee House, <http://www.baristaprima.com/>.

⁶⁶⁵ Photo source, *Every Day with Rachael Ray Magazine*, April 2013, 33.

The print ad is hued a rich sepia, evoking a feeling of nostalgic elegance. The background is the Eiffel tower, symbolic of romance, art, and European refinement. The foreground, an archetypal Parisian street shot, allows the visitor to imagine himself there in Paris, perhaps in a café gazing up at the tower and sipping an iconic cup of Parisian coffee. The positive associations people have of “romantic” Paris are transferred to the coffee brand by physical association with the image and reinforced through the product’s name. The coffee becomes more interesting, more prestigious, and pre-liked, which should increase its purchase probability.

e. Image: Marked Performance Nutrition, 2013.

Mark Wahlberg first entered the American conscience as a member of the world-famous “boy band,” *The New Kids on the Block*. He went on to modeling and movie stardom in a string of popur hits, such as *Boogie Nights* (1997), *The Perfect Storm* (2000), and *Planet of the Apes* (2001).⁶⁶⁶ Thanks to his modeling and signature movie characters, Wahlberg’s image is closely associated with his physique. Most recently, he co-starred with muscled movie star Dwayne “the Rock” Johnson in *Pain & Gain*, a movie about the exploits of several bodybuilders involved in organized crime.

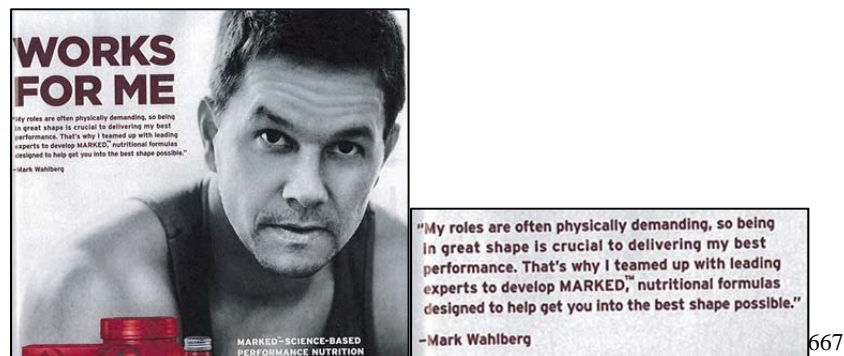


Figure 23. Marked brand supplements 2013 print ad, from *Men’s Health* magazine.

Capitalizing on his on- and off-screen popularity, Mark Wahlberg launched the brand *Marked*, a line of workout supplements. “Now you have the movie

⁶⁶⁶ Biography, “Mark Wahlberg,” <http://www.biography.com/people/mark-wahlberg-9542335>.

⁶⁶⁷ Photo source, *Men’s Health Magazine*, April 2013, 45.

tie-in and he plays a body builder. [GNC] obviously saw all of this, and now it makes a little more sense and they are pushing [Marked Products] with the movie.”⁶⁶⁸ His full page magazine ad predominantly features his face, which is globally recognized, and includes enough of his upper body to remind the viewer of his admired physique. The ad also highlights a first person quote, a message directly from Mr Wahlberg directly to you, the prospective consumer: “My roles are often physically demanding, so being in great shape is crucial to delivering my best performance...designed to help get you into the best shape possible.” In other words, he is on your side; he is your friend. Elsewhere on the page is reemphasized the product’s connection to the much liked actor, noting that *Marked* is “developed by Mark Wahlberg.” The product does not seek to convince the audience of its inherent performance merits. It focuses instead on leveraging positive affinity for the actor and the implications that his excellent physical condition is sufficient to vouch for the product’s utility.

f. ***Political: Obama Presidential Campaign “War on Women” Ad, 2012.***

The U.S. has a population of a little more than 310 million people, of whom an estimated 157 million are women. In the run up to the 2012 presidential election, an estimated 105 million women were registered to vote.⁶⁶⁹ A CNN report noted that in the past 12 consecutive presidential elections, “the number of female voters has been greater than the number of male voters.”⁶⁷⁰ Earning the female vote has proved to be a decisive option for winning contested elections.

⁶⁶⁸ Daniel Miller, “Mark Wahlberg’s Supplements Line, ‘Pain & Gain’ Promote Each Other,” *La Times*, 19 April 2013, <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/envelope/cotown/la-et-ct-mark-wahlberg-supplements-pain-gain-20130417,0,1093657.story>.

⁶⁶⁹ US Department of Health and Human Services, “Women’s Health USA 2012,” <http://www.mchb.hrsa.gov/whusa12/pc/pages/usp.html>.

⁶⁷⁰ Caitlin Stark, “By the Numbers: Women Voters,” *CNN*, 25 October 2012, <http://www.cnn.com/2012/10/25/politics/btn-women-voters>.



Figure 24. Barack Obama presidential campaign 2012 TV commercial, entitled “War on Women,” from YouTube.

During the 2012 campaign, the Obama camp produced and aired an ad that featured a vast array of well-known and popularly admired female movie and music stars, all of whom ardently endorsed Obama and warned of imminent repercussions if Republican candidates were to win. The images layered into the testimonials of these much-admired women showed loving mothers and their daughters, laughing, and projecting innocence. Together, the positive affection for the female stars and for young daughters was transferred by repetitive association to the person of Obama. In contrast, negative words evoking negative affect were layered onto the faces of the leading Republican contenders, transferring the negative association to their persons.

g. Political: Romney Presidential Campaign “Where Did the Stimulus Money Go?” Ad, 2012.

In 2009, at the request of President Obama, the U.S. Congress approved a \$780 billion stimulus package, to be spent over ten years. The U.S. government believed it could best mitigate the negative effects of recession by covering the drop in personal spending. As part of the stimulus plan, the President authorized the direct financial bailout of several specific companies. Most stimulus recipients have since recovered and repaid their loans. However, there are a few outstanding exceptions. In particular, the “pre-reorganized” GM owes the taxpayers \$850 million, which will not be recovered.⁶⁷²

⁶⁷¹ YouTube, “War on Women - Celebrity Testimonials for Obama | Listitude Polical Ads Project,” uploaded 1 October 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3UyNCPURFw>.

⁶⁷² Politico Fact, “President Barack Obama Campaign Video Says Auto Companies ‘Repaid Their Loans,’” *Tampa Bay Times*, 15 March 2012, <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2012/mar/21/barack-obama/president-barack-obama-campaign-video-says-auto-co/>.

Green energy companies such as battery maker A123 (\$249 million) and solar cell maker Solyndra (\$535 million) both declared bankruptcy.

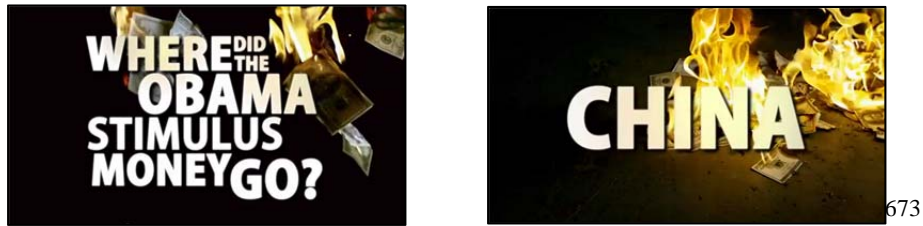


Figure 25. Mitt Romney presidential campaign 2012 TV commercial, entitled “Where Did the Stimulus Money Go?,” from YouTube.

In an ad approved by candidate Romney, burning money is seen constantly falling in the background. The narrator reads the bold print appearing on the screen. He repeats three times, “Where did all the Obama stimulus money go?” The \$500 million dollar bankruptcy loss for Solyndra is provided as “proof” of economic incompetence. Additionally, the word “China” is flashed, evoking a negative emotion that is soon anchored to the subsequent scene of a prominent Democrat. The image of burning money subconsciously suggests deliberate waste. By repetition and name association, the ad seeks to transfer those negative feelings of loss and revulsion to the name and person of Obama.

E. AUTHORITY

Success is popularly believed to beget success. As a way to be efficient, humans have learned to shortcut decision-making efforts by following the lead of “credible” authorities or experts. Respect and compliance with authority figures is an acculturated behavior found in some degree in all cultures. The principal hurdle, then, for the individual is how to best identify experts. In *Influence*, Cialdini describes the universal proclivity to accept symbols of credible authority, such as title, appearance, and trappings, as proof of expertise.

⁶⁷³ YouTube, “Political Ads - Romney - Where Did The Stimulus Money Go,” uploaded 6 August 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N77kBx5KZqo>.

1. Cialdini

a. *Symbols: Title and Uniform.*

For medical problems, people generally trust the advice of anyone with a “doctor” title over those without medical titles. In fact, this trust often becomes blind obedience. Cialdini describes the prevalence of preventable malpractice in hospitals because the hierarchy implied by the division of labor translates directly onto the hierarchy of credibility. For instance, a doctor examined a patient with an infection in his right ear. He left abbreviated written directions for the attending nurse to administer ear drops in the patient’s right ear: “R” ear. The nurse knew the patient had an ear infection, the nurse knew the medication was normally administered in the ear, but because the written instructions seemed to indicate “R-ear” she unquestioningly administered the ear drops rectally. The doctor’s title commanded uncritical obedience.⁶⁷⁴

Mimicking the appearance of well-recognized authority symbols evokes some of the same tendencies for “blind” obedience. Referencing a study by Leonard Bickman, Cialdini relates how an experimenter dressed in a security guard’s uniform directed people to give certain people a dime for a parking meter. The experimenter obtained a 92% compliance rate when dressed as a security guard versus 42% when dressed in plain clothes.⁶⁷⁵ This suggests that Americans have learned that, on average, it is better to comply with authorities.

2. Ancient and Medieval Age

a. *Egypt: Crowns, 1500 B.C.*

Osiris, Lord of the Underworld, was one of the great gods of ancient Egypt. As such, his mythos and images exerted heavy influence on the behaviors of adhering Egyptians. He was regularly pictured with a grand ornate crown and holding a crook. The mummification process and ceremony was meant to prepare Egyptian elites to

⁶⁷⁴ Cialdini, *Influence*, 182.

⁶⁷⁵ Cialdini, *Influence*, 188.

meet Osiris in the afterlife, win his approval, and continue their royal rule.⁶⁷⁶ The crown and crook soon found their way into the symbolism reserved for the royal family. In particular, the crown came to signify the specific individual granted the divine right to rule as a mortal extension of the gods.



Figure 26. Egyptian tomb mural showing the Egyptian God Osiris with headress, staff, and crook, from Britannica.com.



Figure 27. Several ancient Egypt headdresses and their significance, from AncientEgypt.co.uk.

The Book of the Dead is one document that helped institutionalize the association between wearing a crown and having ultimate authority. “Glory be to thee, O Osiris Un-Nefer, thou great god in Abtu (Abydos), King of Eternity, Lord of

⁶⁷⁶ Egyptian Myths, “Ancient Egypt: The Mythology,” updated 13 May 2012, <http://www.egyptianmyths.net/osiris.htm>.

⁶⁷⁷ Photo source, Britannica.com, <http://media-1.web.britannica.com/eb-media/26/72726-004-106CE914.jpg>.

Everlastingness, God whose existence is millions of years, eldest son of Nut, begotten by Geb, the Ancestor-Chief, Lord of the Crowns of the South and the North, Lord of the High White Crown “⁶⁷⁸

b. Greece: Oracle at Delphi, 8th Century B.C.

The great temple to the Greek god Apollo was established on the slope of Mount Parnassus where the high priestess, the Pythia, resided in a cave. From ancient accounts, the Pythia sat on a tripod above a rift in the cave’s floor where noxious vapors induced a euphoric state. With a significant donation to the temple, usually of gold, the entrant could ask the Pythia a question about the future. Her cryptic responses would be interpreted by the temple priests. Plato, Plutarch, and Aristotle, among others, relate stories of generals and kings seeking the Pythia’s advice for when and where to wage military campaigns.⁶⁷⁹ Her edicts became unconditionally accepted as truth, despite previous prediction failures. “As troops gathered from all over the Greek world at the start of a campaign, bringing with them a variety of superstitions and opinions, the Oracle provided a single viewpoint around which the soldiers could unite: a word from the gods to the people of Greece.”⁶⁸⁰

The authoritative symbol of the Greek oracle became recognized and revered internationally. “The ancient people of the Mediterranean had such faith in the Pythia’s view of the future that no major decision was made without consulting the Oracle of Delphi first.”⁶⁸¹ The Oracle enjoyed obedience for more than 500 years, despite regular prophetic “errors.”

⁶⁷⁸ Tour Egypt, “Crowns of Ancient Egypt, an Introduction,” <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/crownsofegypt.htm>.

⁶⁷⁹ PBS, “The Oracle at Delphi,” http://www.pbs.org/empires/thegreeks/background/7_p1.html.

⁶⁸⁰ Taylor, “Propaganda in the Ancient World,” 29.

⁶⁸¹ Ancient-Greece, “Delphi,” <http://www.ancient-greece.org/history/delphi.html>.

c. Rome: Scipio's Origin Myth, 202 B.C.

Divine and/or mythical origins of the right to rule have often been invoked to consolidate credibility and garner authority to rule. Scipio Africanus served Rome in the Second Punic war against the Carthaginian Empire. He understood the value of an army that was unquestionably loyal and quickly obedient, especially when facing the likes of Hannibal. "He deliberately encouraged his image as a religiously-inspired superman...A story, for example that, like Alexander the Great, he was conceived as a result of intercourse with a snake...helped to enhance his mystique amongst his troops and supporters, thereby raising their confidence in a man whose youth might otherwise have raised doubts about his capabilities as a commander."⁶⁸² In 202 B.C., on the plains of Zama, Scipio ordered his troops into an unconventional and untested formation to face the raging charge of Hannibal's war elephants. They unquestionably complied despite the likely urge to flee before the charging pachyderms. They defeated their enemy thanks to their leader's innovative tactics and command presence.⁶⁸³

d. Religion

Credibility is the key to establishing and maintaining the right to authority and expectations for quick obedience. Most cultures grant automatic deference to elders. The natural extension is that age brings wisdom; the aged have special repositories of knowledge that make them experts in life. The Islamic *Hadith* outlines the Prophet's qualifications for authority figures; "Glorifying Allah involves showing honour to a grey-haired Muslim and to one who can expound the *Qur'an*, but not to one who acts extravagantly regarding it, or turns away from it, and showing honour to a just ruler."⁶⁸⁴ Hindu teachings emphasize a similar respect for age, to include respect for one's mother and father. "For children, the parents are therefore divine. Hindus consider the service of one's parents to be a pious and divine duty and preventing any one from carrying that

⁶⁸² Taylor, "Propaganda in the Ancient World," 36-37.

⁶⁸³ History Net, "Second Punic War: The Battle of Zama," 5 September 2006, <http://www.historynet.com/second-punic-war-battle-of-zama.htm>.

⁶⁸⁴ *Hadith*, Sunan Abu Dawud, Book #41, Section #4825.

duty is considered to be a sinful act.”⁶⁸⁵ So too do Buddhists propagate deference to parents and elders. “The *Earth Treasure Sutra* explains that we begin our learning and practice by being filial to our parents and respectful to our teachers and elders...only when we honor teachers and revere their teachings can we truly succeed in our learning of Buddhism.”⁶⁸⁶

Christianity has strong lessons on how to recognize authority figures. It also places great emphasis on establishing credibility through demonstrable behavior: “acts speak louder than words.” The *New Testament* specifically recounts 37 miracles performed by Jesus. Perhaps the most well-known is the feeding of the 5,000. A great number of people had assembled to hear Jesus speak. He ordered his disciples to feed them. The disciples replied they did not have the means. From just three loafs and several fish, Jesus demonstrated his power by feeding them all. “Therefore, when the people saw the sign which He had performed, they said, ‘This is truly the Prophet who is to come into the world.’”⁶⁸⁷ In another instance, Matthew relates Jesus’ healing of a paralyzed man. “When the crowds saw this, they were awestruck, and glorified God, who had given such authority to men.”⁶⁸⁸

3. Modern Ages

a. Rome: Papal Regalia, 1265 A.D.

When the qualifying symbols of higher authority are unique and hard to replicate, they tend to lend additional credibility to the expectation of obedience. The Pope is the head of the Catholic Church and the presumed spiritual authority for more than one billion Catholics worldwide. His election process is veiled in ritual, inaccessible to most, and culminates in a significant public ceremony that helps to confirm his newly

⁶⁸⁵ Balagokulam, “Hindu Values,” <http://www.balagokulam.org/teach/other/values.php>.

⁶⁸⁶ Amitabha Buddhist Society, “Teachings of Ven. Master Chin Kung,” www.amtb.org.tw/pdf/eb50-03.doc.

⁶⁸⁷ *Bible*, John 6:4.

⁶⁸⁸ *Bible*, Matthew 9:8.

ordained divine right to “rule.”⁶⁸⁹ Several key items have come to symbolize his divine authority. One of the most recognized is the Ring of the Fisherman.



Figure 28. The Pope's Fisherman ring, from catholicnews.com.



Figure 29. Palestinian Authority leader Yasser Arafat (Muslim) kissing the ring of Pope John II (Catholic).

Since 1265, the Pope has been fitted with a unique hand-made ring, originally used to seal and authenticate papal commands. However, even after the late 19th century when this practice ended, the ring continued to be leveraged as a symbol of authority. “Many Catholics pay their respects to the pope by kneeling and kissing his ring.”⁶⁹² The act publicly and psychologically acknowledges the Pope's right to a

⁶⁸⁹ Religion Facts, “How the Pope is Elected,”
http://www.religionfacts.com/christianity/features/papal_elections.htm.

⁶⁹⁰ Photo source, Pope's ring, <http://www.catholicnews.com/photos/13hp0127.jpg>.

⁶⁹¹ Photo source, Yasser Arafat kisses the Pope's ring, 2001,
<http://home.comcen.com.au/adamgosp/arafpope.jpg>.

⁶⁹² Carol Zimmermann, “Ring of Retired Pope Benedict No Longer Can Be Used As Seal,” 7 March 2013, <http://www.catholicnews.com/data/stories/cns/1301028.htm>.

position of higher status *cum* authority. Figure 25 shows Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, a Muslim, kissing the ring of the Pope, a Christian.

b. United States: War of the Worlds Radio Broadcast, 1938.

Although the TV was in limited use by the late 1920s, the radio remained a prominent source of news and entertainment for Americans until the early 1950s. Families habitually tuned in each night to their favorite and trusted programs. On the evening of 30 October 1938, Orson Welles's theater group performed a version of H.G. Wells' *The War of the Worlds*. They changed the details to the present time and the location to New York/New Jersey. The program opened with several disclaimers, several more were made after commercial breaks. However, many thousands dialed in between those announcements. "Thousands of people, believing they were under attack by Martians, flooded newspaper offices and radio and police stations with calls, asking how to flee their city or how they should protect themselves from 'gas raids.'"⁶⁹³ Despite however farfetched the idea of alien invaders may have been, the American public's unconditional acceptance of the authority of "news broadcasts" led them to behave otherwise. "The power of radio had fooled the listeners. They had become accustomed to believing everything they heard on the radio, without questioning it. Now they had learned - the hard way."⁶⁹⁴

c. Vichy France: Philippe Pétain, 1940.

In September 1939, Hitler initiated his conquest of Europe with the invasion of Poland. Facing less resistance from the European powers than expected, he accelerated his plans to control the continent by invading Holland and Belgium as a prelude to conquering France. On 15 May, Germany's Panzer Corps bypassed the obsolete WWI French Maginot defensive line and swept the country toward Paris. "It took only six weeks for France to capitulate to the German invaders. A stunning defeat -

⁶⁹³ Stefan Lovgen, "War of the Worlds": Behind the 1938 Radio Show Panic," *National Geographic*, 17 June 2005, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2005/06/0617_050617_warworlds.html.

⁶⁹⁴ Jennifer Rosenberg, "War of the Worlds Radio Broadcast Causes Panic," http://history1900s.about.com/od/1930s/a/warofworlds_2.htm.

particularly since before the war the French army was considered the most powerful in Europe.”⁶⁹⁵ In those six weeks, referred to as the Battle of France, the French premier recalled 84 year old Marshal Philippe Pétain back to active service to serve as the vice premier of France. When German victory became imminent, much of the senior French leadership fled to form a government-in-exile. Pétain remained and became the Prime Minister. Fearing gross destruction of the country, including dissolution of the country’s sovereign territory, he petitioned Hitler for an armistice. In return for sparing France, Pétain had to guarantee to prevent civil resistance and commit France’s industrial productivity to support the German war campaign.⁶⁹⁶

Philippe Pétain was a well-remembered and credible French authority figure. He had famously defeated the Germans at the Battle of Verdun during WWI. He had variously demonstrated his civil competence as France’s Minister of War, Secretary of State, and Ambassador to Spain.⁶⁹⁷ His age and countenance bespoke wisdom and he was assisted by the cultural tendency to respect one’s elders. He had responded to France in the country’s hour of greatest need, prominently coming back to defend France in its penultimate fight against the advancing Germans. Finally, when all others had fled, he had boldly remained with the French people, assuaging their fears.

Hitler wholeheartedly endorsed Pétain, knowing that by enabling a willing Pétain to appear to the French as their savior, the majority would venerate and consequently be more likely to obey him. Francis Martel in *Pétain: Verdun to Vichy* relates Hitler’s probable line of thinking; “To the heavy laurels of the unvanquished old soldier and hero would be added a new crown. He would become the political savior of the nation, having once before saved it in war. Once the peace was achieved, the frenzied

⁶⁹⁵ Eyewitness To History, “France in Defeat, 1940,”
<http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/francedefeat.htm>.

⁶⁹⁶ Robert Kedward, “The Resistance in France,” <http://www.historytoday.com/roderick-kedward/resistance-france>.

⁶⁹⁷ BBC, “Philippe Pétain (1856 - 1951),”
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/petain_philippe.shtml.

adoration of all of France, not of the restless and discontented few, would at last be his.”⁶⁹⁸

For the better part of the next four years, resistance by the French, relative to their total population, was minimal. Pétain and his Vichy government were able to influence most of the French to resume “normalcy,” and to behave neutrally despite the German presence and activities. They were also instrumental in reorganizing and restoring industrial production that benefited the German war machine.

d. China/Korea: Germ Warfare Claims, 1953.

On 25 June 1950, North Korea crossed into South Korea, initiating the Korean War. Soon after, the United Nations (UN), led by the United States, entered the fight on behalf of the South. The war eventually became a proxy struggle for influence in Near-east Asia between the United States and China. In 1952, as UN forces seemed to be gaining ground, the communists issued public allegations that the United States had used biological warfare (BW).

The North Korean and Chinese governments understood that on their own they lacked international credibility to withstand such serious charges. To place the UN on the defensive and perhaps erode popular support for its multi-national force, the communists launched a propaganda campaign to build the credibility of its claims and cast doubt on the American’s BW denials. One such source was confessions of American POW pilots. In the United States, these pilots possessed high levels of attributed authority and respect, likely left over from the military’s role in winning WWII. The Chinese obtained written and videotaped confessions (claimed to have been volunteered) and submitted them to the world press.

A large printed version of a confession made by Lt Kenneth Enoch, of the 3rd Bomber Wing, is on display in the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum and includes what are purported to be his hand-sketched diagrams of the bombs he said his aircraft delivered...he is said to have

⁶⁹⁸ Francis Martel, *Pétain: Verdun to Vichy* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1943), 143.

told his captors that he had been ordered to report the dropping of germ bombs as ‘duds’ – weapons that failed to detonate.⁶⁹⁹

To add to the authority of the pilots’ confessions, the Chinese knew that by including irrelevant but factual mission details the entire message, including the “lies” about BW, would be perceived as being more credible. “The claims were so convincing that the [anti-U.S. Biological Warfare] rallies were sponsored by peace groups that had no ties to Communist Organizations.”⁷⁰⁰ It is 60 years later and there are still segments of the world’s population that strongly believe, based in part on the testimony of U.S. servicemen, that the U.S. did indeed use BW in Korea.⁷⁰¹

4. Information Age

a. United States: Baby Stealing, 2012.

At least in the medical profession, there is a strong assumption of authority granted to the symbolic uniform. The iconic blue scrubs of a nurse and the white lab coat of a doctor are generally accepted forms of proof for most people. As evidence, one can look to White Coat Syndrome, where “the stress of being surrounded by people in white coats can actually cause blood pressure to rise.”⁷⁰² It does not require a person to display valid doctor credentials; the uniform is significant enough for the brain to assume the person is a doctor.

Unfortunately, the news is peppered with cases of strangers dressed in illicit nurse garb, entering hospitals and kidnapping babies. In many cases, the fake nurse’s appearance is what convinces the Mom to willingly release her baby. A 2009 Tennessee headline reads, “Woman Dressed as Nurse Tries to Steal Baby From

⁶⁹⁹ Julian Ryall, “Did the US wage germ warfare in Korea?,” 10 June 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/northkorea/7811949/Did-the-US-wage-germ-warfare-in-Korea.html>.

⁷⁰⁰ Stephen E. Pease, *Psywar: Psychological Warfare in Korea. 1950-53* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1992), 141.

⁷⁰¹ Refer to Stephen Endicott and Edward Hagerman, *The United States and Biological Warfare: Secrets from the Early Cold War and Korea* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998).

⁷⁰² NetDoctor, “White Coat Hypertension,” 1 January 2010, <http://www.netdoctor.co.uk/ate/heartandblood/201162.html>.

Maternity Ward.”⁷⁰³ According to a 2012 California news headline, “posing as a nurse, Ramirez entered the room of the baby’s mother and told her to take a shower before the doctor came.”⁷⁰⁴ A story from India in 2012 reports something similar; “dangling a stethoscope round her neck and wearing a white coat, the woman was enquiring from patients who unsuspectingly answered her question and one Meera even gave her new-born baby boy to her after she had asked for him.”⁷⁰⁵ A 2009 Chinese headline claims “CCTV Shows Woman Dressed As Nurse Stealing Baby From Chinese Hospital.”⁷⁰⁶ This suggests that obedience to authority symbols is not something peculiar to American culture.

b. Persian Gulf: Iraqi Conflict, 1991 & 2003.

Similar to the *War of the Worlds* incident, during the prelude to the first Gulf War in 1991, U.S. military strategists used the authority granted to news stories covered by such outlets as CNN. “Schwarzkopf’s commanders used press briefings to describe in detail how amphibious landings would be managed, giving the impression (without directly lying) that the invasion would come not by land but by sea.”⁷⁰⁷ It worked; Saddam repositioned the bulk of his military to repel a sea invasion, permitting Coalition forces to “hook” to the West and come in behind the Iraqi defenses.

In the build-up to the second Gulf War, the administration comfortably assumed that Saddam was monitoring U.S. news outlets to glean intelligence on U.S. military strategy. In February, unnamed sources provided information to respected news

⁷⁰³ Telegraph, “Woman Dressed as Nurse Tries to Steal Baby from Maternity Ward,” 1 January 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/4047435/Woman-dressed-as-nurse-tries-to-steal-baby-from-maternity-ward.html>.

⁷⁰⁴ CBS News, “California Woman Tried to Steal Newborn Baby from Hospital, Police Say,” 7 August 2012, http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-504083_162-57488181-504083/california-woman-tried-to-steal-newborn-baby-from-hospital-police-say/.

⁷⁰⁵ New Delhi TV, “Woman Held for Trying to Steal Baby in Delhi,” 3 December 2012, <http://www.ndtv.com/article/cities/woman-held-for-trying-to-steal-baby-in-delhi-300609>.

⁷⁰⁶ Shanghai Daily, “CCTV Shows Woman Dressed As Nurse Stealing Baby From Chinese Hospital,” 21 November 2009, http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=0e1_1263383548.

⁷⁰⁷ Richard A. Muller, “Deceiving Saddam,” *MIT Technology Review*, 13 June 2003, <http://m.technologyreview.com/news/401958/deceiving-saddam/>.

outlets, such as the *New York Times*, about the U.S. invasion strategy. The invasion would reportedly come by frontal assault, with the Americans depending on brute force to overpower Saddam's defenses. This caused Saddam to order his troops to "bunker down" in preparation for massive pre-invasion artillery barrages. Instead, the U.S. used speed to bypass and cut off Iraqi forces, aiming for the quick conquest of Baghdad to end the war. Richard A. Muller, in his 2003 article, claims that the "...Pentagon just didn't want to admit that it had purposely leaked a discarded battle plan to *The Times*, and that its publication had successfully tricked the Iraqis into preparing for the wrong attack."⁷⁰⁸ The background to this story is a bit more complex than Muller's simplified accusation, but the example of certain news sources holding significantly more authority-credibility than others still remains true.

5. Multi-Media Appeals

a. TV: U.S. Surgeon General "*Heart Stopper*" Anti-Smoking Ad, 2010.

The Surgeon General is appointed by the President of the United States to serve as his expert authority on health matters. (S)he is also generally recognized by title as an unquestioned authority on medical issues, the "lead" national doctor. This 2010 anti-smoking ad begins with a graphic demonstration of the innumerable damages caused by smoking. But the narrator is an unknown voice, relaying statistics and warning. The segment achieves its credibility by the inclusion of an "unquestioned" authority.

⁷⁰⁸ Muller, "Deceiving Saddam."



Figure 30. Anti-smoking coalition 2010 TV commercial, featuring the U.S. Attorney General, from YouTube.

Midway through the 30-second spot, it transitions to a figure in formal uniform; “I’m Dr. Regina Benjamin, U.S. Surgeon General.” She then confirms the previous claims about smoking’s hazards. In that one simple scene, the Surgeon General is signaling three strong pieces of authority that should incline the audience to assign her message increased credibility: her military uniform, the statement that she is a doctor, and the statement that she is the nation’s Surgeon General.

b. TV: Tony Robbins “Unleash the Power Within” Motivational Event Ad, 2010.

This 2010 infomercial solicits paid attendance of a four day motivational seminar called *Unleash the Power Within*. Since there are no widely recognized socially pre-defined symbols signifying someone is a qualified motivational coach, the commercial must create and fulfill them. Given its six and a half minute long duration, the first 25% builds the case for Tony Robbins’ expert authority.

⁷⁰⁹ YouTube, “Heart Stopper (2010 Surgeon General PSA),” uploaded 1 April 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xPGRcOqsMMM>.



Figure 31. Tony Robbins 2010 TV infomercial, advertising the “Unleashing the Power Within” personal improvement seminar, from YouTube.

Following two testimonials, the narrator touts Robbins’ operational endurance: “for more than three decades he has touched the lives of millions,” and suggests that experience working with other high-status elites (*social proof*) proves his credentials. Robbins has “consulted with U.S. Presidents as well as world statesmen like Nelson Mandela and Michael Gorbachev, Princess Diana, and the Dali Lama.” Clearly, his persuasive techniques have paid off. Tony Robbins has a net worth of over \$480 million dollars and his 2006 Ted Talk seminar remains ranked in the top ten most viewed.⁷¹¹

c. *Image- Secret: Clinical Strength Deodorant*

Authority in a word. Words are powerful symbols, some of which impart credibility by definition. In this *Secret* brand deodorant ad, the new line is named “Clinical Strength.” The word “clinical” evokes a mental image of something in the medical profession. The phrase “clinical strength” suggests the product will deliver a benefit that is akin to prescription-strength. As mentioned previously, humans are generally acculturated to defer to medical authority. Therefore, a subconscious conclusion from this ad is that the product is doctor-endorsed and at a performance level above what can normally be acquired by the public.

⁷¹⁰ YouTube, “Transform Your Life With Tony Robbins.mov,” uploaded 27 January 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fwW39pns8mg>.

⁷¹¹ Celebrity Network, “Tony Robbins Net Worth,” <http://www.celebritynetworth.com/richest-businessmen/tony-robbins-net-worth/>.



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Figure 32. Secret brand “Clinical Strength” deodorant 2013 print ad, from *Oprah Magazine*.

d. Image: All Allergy Free Detergent, 2013.

Authority in a claim. Seals of approval are another technique often employed to trigger assumptions of authoritative approval. In the *All* detergent print ad, it reads “#1 Recommended by Dermatologists, Allergists, Pediatricians...for sensitive skin.” The consumer is led to believe that not just one recognized source of authority, as in a single doctor, but an array of doctors has experienced and rated this detergent as the best.



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Figure 33. All “Allergy Free” laundry detergent 2013 print ad, from *Oprah magazine*.

e. Image: Six Star Whey Protein Supplement, 2013.

Authority by testimonial. For certain products, the most credible experts are credible “elite” users. For the muscle building product whey protein, *Six Star* employs the image-as-endorsement of four well-known professional athletes, reaching out to four

⁷¹² Photo source, *Oprah Magazine*, April 2013, 105.

⁷¹³ Photo source, *Oprah Magazine*, April 2013, 107.

sports audiences: baseball, college football, professional football, and boxing. The page is simply captioned, “Top Pros Trust Six Star.” The images show men with obvious musculature who are famous and successful; therefore, they are presumed experts on the subject.



Figure 34. Six Star brand muscle supplements 2013 print advertisement, from *Mens Health Magazine*.

f. ***Political: Swift-Boat Veterans “Sellout” Ad, 2004.***

The 2004 Presidential election campaign seemed to focus on destroying the other candidate’s sources of credibility, rather than building up one’s own. Generally candidates can tout their honorable prior military service. But the number of veterans running for office has been in steady decline since WWII. At the time of the elections, less than 30% of Congress had previously served in the military,⁷¹⁵ and even less had been in actual combat.

One of Senator Kerry’s duties in Vietnam had been aboard a swift boat, a type of small littoral naval vessel. In 2004, over 500 Swift Boat Vietnam veterans and POWs backed a political organization that ran ads that, some feel falsely, discredited Kerry’s claim to honorable service by highlighting his protest activities as “anti-American.”

⁷¹⁴ Photo source, *Mens Health Magazine*, April 2013, 107.

⁷¹⁵ Frank Schaeffer, “Essay: Military Families,” *PBS News Hour*, 22 April 2004, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/entertainment/jan-june04/schaeffer_04-22.html.



Figure 35. Swiftboat Veterans 2004 presidential election campaign commercial against Sen. John Kerry, entitled “Sellout,” from YouTube.

In the one-minute television ad a wounded Vietnam veteran and two POWs describe Kerry’s “treasonous” transgressions. “John Kerry gave the enemy for free what I and many of my comrades in North Vietnam in prison camps took torture to avoid saying.” Their testimonials are interspersed with pictures and recordings of Kerry’s 1971 testimony before the U.S. Senate; “They [(refers to other U.S. servicemen)] had personally raped, cut off ears, cut off heads...” Under the featured testimonials are captions noting the speaker’s experience, as either a wounded veteran or POW. This signaling suggests to the audience that these veterans’ experiences better qualifies them (over Kerry) to judge what is and is not “appropriate” military service and moral military character.

g. Political: Democratic National Convention Military Endorsement Rally, 2008.

After the 2008 Democratic primaries, Senator Obama was well-established as the party’s official candidate. His campaign recognized that it needed to address his credibility to serve as the military’s Commander in Chief. Consequently, at the 2008 Democratic Convention, his campaign arranged for 20 generals and admirals, all veterans, to take the stage while retired Major General J. Scott Gration spoke on their behalf.

⁷¹⁶ YouTube, “Swiftboat Veterans Ad on John Kerry - Sellout (2004),” uploaded 8 November 2006, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=phqOuEhg9yE>.



Figure 36. C-Span coverage of the 2008 Democratic National Convention, featuring 20 retired Generals and Admirals, from YouTube.

Gration creates the general impression of broad military support for Obama by repeatedly invoking “we” as he spoke. He touched on his own military experience, and in doing so, became a proxy-authority for Obama. He concludes his speech with statements that signal to the audience that top military experts have deliberated and find Obama sufficiently qualified; therefore, the most appropriate and logical behavior for everyone listening to vote for him.

F. SCARCITY

When the available decision-making information is insufficient to address uncertainty, humans fall back on certain pre-learned behavioral responses. Under this rubric, if circumstances preclude finding the “right” clues then one should try to preserve as many options as possible until sufficient information can be obtained. Cialdini has identified three distinct veins of the scarcity principle used by influence agents: invoking rarity, psychological reactance, and highlighting competition.

1. Cialdini

a. *Limited Supply: Out of Stock Appliances.*

If there used to be plenty, but now there are just a few of something, social proof suggests that clearly everyone knows something the person does not. Cialdini

⁷¹⁷ YouTube, “Retired Generals Support Obama for President,” uploaded 1 September 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NttDOQcO2bM>.

explains this using the example of an appliance retailer. The salesman would wait for a customer to demonstrate more than a passing interest in a particular floor model. Next, the salesman would praise the virtues of that model and the customer's acumen for figuring out which model is "best." Then the salesman would activate the scarcity principle. He would say the model is sold out. This would confirm "beyond a shadow of a doubt" to the customer that he had made the "best" selection decision. This would lead to him wanting the scarce model even more. The salesman would next employ the commitment principle, asking the customer to mentally and verbally commit to buying it...if it were available. The customer would consider this a harmless commitment, which is when the salesman would spring his trap. He would suddenly remember that there might be one left in the back. Sure enough, there would be one, and the customer would feel obligated to keep his word to purchase it.⁷¹⁸

b. Reactance: Miami Phosphate Ban.

Those who intentionally say or do the exact opposite of what is asked of them are engaging in psychological reactance. This is a favorite tactic of rebellious children. Adults usually practice this when they seek to guard certain freedoms for the future.

Cialdini recounts an event that took place in Dade County Florida. Around 1971, on the heels of a popular clean water campaign, Dade banned the use and possession of phosphate-based detergents.⁷¹⁹ The abrupt restriction led a significant portion of the population to believe that phosphate detergents achieved better results and so they willfully continued using that kind of detergent. "Sometimes with neighbors and friends in large 'soap caravans,' they drove to nearby counties to load up on phosphate detergents."⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁸ Cialdini, *Influence*, 202.

⁷¹⁹ *Sarasota Journal*, "Phosphate Ban Eyed by Board," 27 November 1972, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1798&dat=19721127&id=KIA0AAAAIBAJ&sjid=II0EAAAAIBAJ&pg=2505,5843591>.

⁷²⁰ Cialdini, *Influence*, 209.

c. *Competition: Super-sale Feeding Frenzy.*

Observing others as one seeks social proof is generally passive and most examples are usually helpful. However, at a certain point if the presence or activity of others decreases the availability of an opportunity or resource it stimulates in-group/out-group formation, and competition between newly created “them” and “us.” To illustrate, Cialdini describes the “feeding frenzy” produced by advertised special hours, limited supply, and one time only “super sales” events. “Charged by the crush of competitors, they swarm and struggle to claim merchandise they would otherwise disdain.”⁷²¹ The valuation and pursuit of items has less to do with their actual quality or price-value, and more to do with the status of having out competed others to obtain something scarce and desired.

2. *Ancient and Medieval Ages*

a. *Sparta: Preventive Attack, Peloponnesian War, 431 B.C.*

By the middle of the 5th century B.C., the city-state of Athens had grown into a powerful empire, able to effectively dominate most other Greek city-states through naval superiority. Athens’ territorial and economic expansion upset the power détente that had generally stabilized the rivalry between Athens and Sparta.⁷²² Sparta concluded that its window of independent existence and opportunity to act was quickly closing due to Athens’ growing power. “The generally recognized stronger Spartans crossed the Athenian border in 431 claiming they had the right of preventive invasion, starting the Peloponnesian War. Sparta was convinced not that Athens was about to attack it, but rather that, as Thucydides relates, without such a first strike, the unstoppable growth of a hostile Athenian empire would soon lead to Sparta’s inevitable decline.”⁷²³ Sparta felt the

⁷²¹ Cialdini, *Influence*, 218.

⁷²² Ancient Greece, “Wars: The Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.),” <http://www.ancientgreece.com/s/PeloponnesianWar/>.

⁷²³ Victor D. Hanson, *Makers of Ancient Strategy: From Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 102.

influence of the scarcity principle; it acted to prevent a perceived imminent loss of opportunity and existential freedom.

b. Asia: Mongol Amnesty, 13th Century A.D.

In 1206, Genghis Khan began expanding the Mongol empire by rapid conquest, a tide that reached Eastern Europe by 1241. The initial Mongol expansion included extreme acts of brutality that were soon reported to the far corners of the civilized world. The Mongols' long string of successful military battles created a legend of invincibility that soon preceded its advance. So, too, did stories about cities that surrendered being spared rape, pillage, and destruction. "In the conquest of Persia, these strategies amounted to 'resist, and you die; cooperate, and you will be better off.'"⁷²⁴

In 1221, a small Mongol scout force reached Herat, Afghanistan. The city was aware of the Mongols' reputation for battlefield violence and their standing offer of amnesty if a town capitulated before Mongol forces advanced. Herat's leaders recognized the urgency of a limited-time offer. They surrendered to the insignificant scout force a full season before the Mongol army would have reached the city. However, after the main Mongol body bypassed the city, leaving only a few representatives, the city revolted. The Mongol army returned and reportedly beheaded all but 40 of the 16,000 inhabitants.⁷²⁵

c. Religion

The more forbidden something is, the more scrutiny it attracts. Religions like Christianity that had to compete against a plethora of more established religions may owe its proliferation to a history of forbiddance and persecution. After Christ's crucifixion, the Apostles fled into the greater Roman Empire. This allowed them to start additional "seed" churches, which spread the religion far more effectively than if they

⁷²⁴ Steve Dutch, "The Mongols," Course Notes, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, 25 September 1998, <https://www.uwgb.edu/dutchs/WestTech/xmongol.htm>.

⁷²⁵ Jeffrey Hays, "Mongol Army: Tactics, Weapons, Revenge and Terror," November 2012, <http://factsanddetails.com/Asian.php?itemid=2696&catid=65&subcatid=423>.

had merely expanded concentrically from Judea. “However, the harder the Romans tried to put [Christianity] down the more popular it became.”⁷²⁶

The underdog tends to garner attention and sympathy; the viewer empathizes with the urge to reject an outsider’s attempt to restrict his freedoms. “In the year 250, the Emperor Decius decides that Christians are a real enemy of the Roman order. The net effect of [the persecutions] is that a new cult of the martyrs appears in Christianity, which strengthens the church, which feeds on anti-government sentiment.”⁷²⁷ This anti-government sentiment was fueled by negative reactions to Rome’s ever increasing behavioral restrictions and requirements on its distant tenant states.

The *Qur’an* leverages the scarcity principle to stimulate conversion sooner rather than later. One must accept Allah as God before the moment of death to escape damnation; one can die at any moment. This creates a feeling of time scarcity; “for all people a term has been set: when the end of their term approaches, they can neither delay it by a single moment, nor hasten it.”⁷²⁸

Hinduism leverages scarcity by emphasizing that the ultimate goal of getting to Moksha (heaven) is very difficult but well worthwhile. “Moksha is achieved by living a life of religious devotion and moral integrity without any interest in worldly things. However, it may be many lifetimes within the wheel of life before moksha is achieved.”⁷²⁹ Moksha’s rarity adds to its desirability and therefore to the commitment of its believers to continue pursuing it.

Buddhism passively uses the inverse of the scarcity principle. It purposely avoids restricting the freedoms of its adherents to sample other religions. “The Buddha

⁷²⁶ Jewish History, “The Spread of Christianity,” <http://www.jewishhistory.org/the-spread-of-christianity/>.

⁷²⁷ Wayne A. Meeks, “The Martyrs,” in *PBS*, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/religion/why/martyrs.html>.

⁷²⁸ *Qur’an*: Surah 10 Yunus, Ayah 49.

⁷²⁹ Waupun, “Hindu Beliefs,” <http://www.waupun.k12.wi.us/Policy/other/dickhut/religions/43%20Hindu%20Beliefs.htm>.

encouraged His followers to learn about other religions and to compare His teachings with other teachings. The Buddha says that if they are reasonable and rational teachings, His followers are free to respect such teachings.”⁷³⁰ By not forbidding its adherents from experiencing competing religions, Buddhism avoids triggering a psychological reactance response that would increase the allure and payoff for doing so.

3. Modern Age

a. England: Pope Clement VII Prohibited Book List, 1529.

On 31 October 1517, Martin Luther posted his famous manifesto exposing the “hypocrisy” of the Catholic Church upon the doors of the Wittenberg Church in Germany. This became the opening salvo in the Reformation and triggered a determined retaliation by the Roman Papacy. The Vatican initially tried to control printing facilities through licensing requirements. However, the spread of the printing press to more liberal countries enabled sustained importation of the “heretical” texts. In 1529, Pope Clement VII tried censorship; he issued a prohibited book list. This only increased the public’s interest in the Protestant message and heightened demand for those texts specifically mentioned. “One commentator wrote from Paris in 1520 of Luther’s publications: ‘No books are more eagerly bought up...One bookshop has sold 1,400 copies...Everywhere people speak highly of Luther.’”⁷³¹

b. France: Louisiana Purchase Negotiation, 1803.

By 1802, the United States had pushed to its boundary limits along the eastern shores of the Mississippi. A sizable portion of the fledgling country’s international commerce depended on that river and the Spanish-controlled port of New Orleans.⁷³² That year Spain ceded the whole of the Louisiana territory to France’s

⁷³⁰ K. Sri Dhammananda Maha Thera, “What Buddhists Believe,” <http://www.budsas.org/ebud/whatbudbeliev/277.htm>.

⁷³¹ Philip M. Taylor, “Propaganda in the Age of Gunpowder and Printing,” in *Munitions of the Mind* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 100.

⁷³² Monticello, “The Louisiana Purchase,” <http://www.monticello.org/site/jefferson/louisiana-purchase>.

Napoleon, who originally envisioned Louisiana as the nucleus of a great French empire in the New World. In the U.S.'s view, French intentions posed an existential threat. But, as war between France and Britain loomed, so did France's critical need for securing funds. President Thomas Jefferson authorized negotiations with Paris to purchase Mississippi river rights and possession of New Orleans. France offered the whole of the territory, but at a price four times the annual operating budget of the heavily indebted American nation.

Each side sensed that time was on its side and strategically emphasized characteristics that would trigger the scarcity principle. "A skillful negotiator, Talleyrand's [(France)] favorite tactic was delay."⁷³³ By delaying, Talleyrand made time seem to be too short, thus stimulating the other side to respond more rapidly and with less deliberation. For his part, the American negotiator Robert Livingston highlighted the potential loss of French options/freedoms to the British as a way to stimulate French scarcity-based compliance. "Livingston pointed out that at any moment either the Americans could lose their patience or the British could declare war on France and seize Louisiana themselves."⁷³⁴ The French team also invoked the potential for lost opportunity by playing up Napoleon's reputation for impatience. "[Talleyrand] cautioned the American in a thinly veiled threat that Napoleon could quickly change his mind and withdraw the offer."⁷³⁵

On 2 May 1803, after months of strategic posturing, but with both sides secretly fretting about catastrophe should negotiations fail, France ceded the entire Louisiana territory for \$15 million dollars.⁷³⁶ The purchase doubled the size of the United States. France received its desired funds for battle; two weeks after the document was signed, Britain declared war on France.

⁷³³ Stanton, *Great Negotiations*, 28.

⁷³⁴ Stanton, *Great Negotiations*, 32.

⁷³⁵ Stanton, *Great Negotiations*, 33.

⁷³⁶ History, "Louisiana Purchase," <http://www.history.com/topics/louisiana-purchase>.

c. *Occupied Europe: Operation Mincemeat, 1942.*

By late November, Allied victory in North Africa seemed imminent. The campaign had diverted German assets from the Eastern Front and provided a “controlled” test for American forces in battle. Allied planners decided the war effort would next focus on isolating Italy from the Axis. To do this, the Allies began a build-up of forces for an invasion of Sicily. However, success would depend, in large part, on gaining tactical surprise. The Allies knew that the massing of troops could not be effectively hidden; a deception would be needed.

Operation Mincemeat led the Germans to conclude Sicily was a diversion for the “real” landing in Greece. The deception plan allowed neutral, but pro-Nazi Spain to “discover” the body of a high level courier with highly secret battle plans. The quality of the forgeries and the highly unique circumstance surrounding the German’s access to them overrode subsequent non-conforming information about the Allies’ true invasion plans. “The theory was that only a really secret message would carry enough weight with the Germans.”⁷³⁷ By the scarcity principle, information that is deemed “rare,” censored, or restricted takes on higher relative credibility. “The operation succeeded beyond wildest expectations, fooling the German high command into changing its Mediterranean defense strategy and allowing Allied forces to conquer Sicily with limited casualties.”⁷³⁸

4. Information Age

a. *Soviet Union: Anti-Coup Demonstrations, 1991.*

The previously reviewed Endowment Effect suggests that once people mentally assume possession of something, they assign it an increased value and will be motivated to prevent its loss. In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union. He immediately began a process of reforms that provided the communist people with small, but novel freedoms. “Gorbachev’s concept of ‘Perestroika’ (openness)

⁷³⁷ David Owen, “Preparations for Invasion,” in *Battle of Wits: A History of Psychology & Deception in Modern Warfare* (New York: Cooper, 1978), 106.

⁷³⁸ Jennet Conant, “The Man Who Never Was,” *New York Times*, 14 May 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/16/books/review/Conant-t.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

brought freedoms previously unheard of to people living in the Soviet Union.”⁷³⁹ He intended to pave the USSR’s inevitable transition to democracy in a way that would keep the empire intact as a single country. In August 1991, Communist hardliners, fearing their own loss of power, staged a coup that placed Gorbachev under house arrest and rescinded his reforms. They theorized that the people, conditioned by 50 years of coercive obedience, would quietly accept a return to the authoritarian status quo. They were obviously wrong. “Tanks are now patrolling the streets of Moscow but in spite of their presence thousands of people have come out to demonstrate against the takeover.”⁷⁴⁰ Once the reforms were initiated, the people took ownership of their new freedoms, and were willing to accept high levels of risk to retain them. “After three days of massive protest, the coup organizers surrendered, realizing that without the cooperation of the military, they did not have the power to overcome the power of the entire population of the country.”⁷⁴¹

b. Iran: U.S. Nuclear-based Sanctioning, 2002.

In December 2002, after allegations of secret uranium enrichment surfaced, U.S. satellite photos confirmed the existence of two nuclear-related sites in Iran. Several years later, intelligence reports claimed that a Pakistani nuclear scientist had provided Iran with technical plans for nuclear weapons construction. After several years of alternately assuaging world critics and threatening to pursue nuclear weapons, Iran elected Mahmoud Ahmadinejad who flatly rejected foreign interference in Iranian sovereignty.⁷⁴²

In his speeches, directed at his own country as much as to foreign leaders, Ahmadinejad stressed the Iranian people’s “inalienable rights” to make their own

⁷³⁹ PBS “A New Russia,” 22 August 2001, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/july-dec01/russia_coup.html.

⁷⁴⁰ BBC, “1991: Hardliners Stage Coup Against Gorbachev,” http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/19/newsid_2499000/2499453.stm.

⁷⁴¹ The Cold War Museum, “Fall of the Soviet Union,” http://www.coldwar.org/articles/90s/fall_of_the_soviet_union.asp.

⁷⁴² BBC, “Timeline: Iran Nuclear Crisis,” 24 September 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4134614.stm.

decisions. By repetitively reiterating this theme, he reframed the nuclear issue as one of foreign powers trying to take away the rights and freedoms of individual Iranians. The Fars news agency quotes him as saying, “Iran will not enter into talks with anybody on its indisputable nuclear right.”⁷⁴³ By definition, this encouraged the psychological reactance of the population toward external forces, leading them to also conveniently overlook domestic problems.

c. United States: Picasso Painting Auction, 2010.

As Cialdini takes time to note, “the thought of losing out to a rival frequently turns a buyer from hesitant to zealous.”⁷⁴⁴ Most people accept that scarcity equals value. This premise seems to motivate the willingness to spend large sums of money acquiring works by deceased artists. A typical painting by Picasso actually involves less than \$40 in raw material. In 2010, his *Nude, Green Leaves and Bust* came up for auction. “In a dogged contest at the auction house’s Rockefeller Center salesroom, the bidding for Picasso’s ‘Nude’ began at \$58 million and shot up quickly [to \$106.5 million], with eight bidders competing for the jewel-toned, 5-by-4-foot painting.”⁷⁴⁵ The scarcity principle describes the way in which competition represents an imagined challenge to an individual’s potential freedom. The competition outcome awards great prestige to the owner of something extremely scarce, made even more valuable when it is obtained by beating out competitors. “After a year of sobriety amid the recession, the art market’s titans are again chasing trophy paintings with a fresh tenacity, pushing up prices for a handful of coveted masterworks.”⁷⁴⁶ The known desire of competitors and the public nature of the competition increases the individual’s feeling of being right when assigning the object a markedly increased material value. As Blake Gopnik from *The*

⁷⁴³ YouTube, “Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad : ‘Iran’s nuclear inalienable right non-negotiable’,” uploaded 20 November 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wwh7unPzsnY>.

⁷⁴⁴ Cialdini, *Influence*, 218.

⁷⁴⁵ Kelly Crow, “Picasso Sets Auction Record,” *Wall Street Journal*, 3 May 2010, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703866704575224873880379734.html>.

⁷⁴⁶ Crow, “Picasso Sets Auction Record.”

Washington Post writes, “It’s almost as though what was really being witnessed in that auction room was a battle for the rights to the [highest painting bid] record.”⁷⁴⁷

5. Multi-Media Appeals

a. TV: *Christian Children’s Fund, 1994.*

This charitable organization, begun in 1938, provides aid to disadvantaged children in more than 30 countries across the globe. The largest percentage of its operating capital comes from direct solicitation through commercials. Since 1992, actor Alan Sader has been the organization’s spokesman in commercials.⁷⁴⁸



Figure 37. Christian Children’s Fund 1994 TV commercial, from YouTube.

In the reviewed infomercial, Sader begins with a somber face and a crowd of impoverished children in the background; “before nightfall 40,000 children will die from hunger and disease. Fifty-five will die before I finish talking.” This statement creates an emotional imperative to act based on a suggested scarcity of time and an implication that the viewer’s responsibility is to do something now that he is aware. To punctuate the feeling of time scarcity, the commercial intersperses images of emaciated children who seem on the verge of death. If you, the audience, do not act soon, time will run out, and you will have let children die.

⁷⁴⁷ Blake Gopnik, “Record \$106.5 Million Price Bought Something Besides a Picasso,” *Washington Post*, 6 May 2010, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/05/05/AR2010050504707.html>.

⁷⁴⁸ Child Fund International, “About ChildFund,” http://www.childfund.org/about_us/.

⁷⁴⁹ YouTube, “Christian Children’s Fund - 1994 Infomercial,” uploaded 2004, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y65r5Tgsh3U>.

b. TV: QVC Nook Tablet Sale, 2012.

The online e-commerce retailer, QVC, began operations in 1986 and now boasts access to over 100 million households through its 24 hour TV-based sales show.⁷⁵⁰ What viewers experience is both an interactive real-time sales relationship with a product's host and several insets featuring salient sales information. Together, these mediums work to send strong signals of scarcity to the audience. After extolling the virtues of the product, the hosts periodically reiterate the limited time offer and the product's limited quantity.



Figure 38. QVC.com 2011 promotion selling Nook tablets, from YouTube.

On-screen, a countdown clock visibly winds down toward zero. It signals to the audience that a “unique” opportunity is about to be lost; hurry before you face the regret of letting it slip by. Also, on-screen QVC generally runs a counter that tracks the quantity of the product remaining. The combination of scarce time and scarce quantity work together to stimulate an overwhelming desire to unthinkingly purchase. QVC has developed and refined a sales-influence model that obviously works. “QVC is the world’s top multimedia shopping company in terms of viewers and revenue and ranks among the top online mass merchandise retailers.”⁷⁵²

⁷⁵⁰ Jordan Zakarin, “Inside QVC: The Semi-Scripted Reality of the \$8 Billion Business Next Door,” 24 December 2012, <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/inside-qvc-semi-scripted-reality-403983>.

⁷⁵¹ YouTube, “Awkward QVC Caller Bloopers ‘Are You Going Out of Business’ Nook Tablet,” uploaded 20 November 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Hv07K_8Pzs.

⁷⁵² QVC, “About Us,” http://www.qvc.com/AboutUsAboutQVC.content.html?cm_re=PROMOTIONS_-eSpotAboutUs-3_-PROMOTION}&metaeSpot=AboutUs|AboutUs.

c. *Image: AT&T and Sprint iPhone Service Plans, 2013.*

For the most part, major American cell phone companies all offer the same selection of smartphones and similarly priced service plans.⁷⁵³ Their primary differences lie in their service plans. In ads for the iPhone 5, both AT&T and Sprint feature identical pictures of the phone.



Figure 39. AT&T and Sprint Cellular service for iPhone 5 2013 print ads, from *Oprah Magazine*.

They both focus on claims of unique service, addressing the customer's desire to maintain freedoms. AT&T poses the question, what's better, being able to do two things at once or just one? Sprint highlights its provision of unlimited data which enables the consumer to "swim in the Internet." Both of these claims are meant to imply that the competition restricts the customer's freedoms. Therefore, the individual can recover his future options by switching carriers.

⁷⁵³ David Grossman, "How to Choose a New Cellphone Provider," *USA Today*, 21 April 2009, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/travel/columnist/grossman/2009-04-21-new-cellphone-provider_N.htm.

⁷⁵⁴ Photo source, *Oprah Magazine*, April 2013, 53.

⁷⁵⁵ Photo source, *Oprah Magazine*, April 2013, 197.

d. *Political: Anti-Sen. Nelson (D-FL) Campaign Ad, 2012.*

In 2012, the Republican National Committee felt that two-term Florida Senator Bill Nelson (Democrat) was vulnerable to challenge. American Crossroads is a non-aligned political action committee (PAC) that aims to “raise money from a whole lot of volunteer donors all across the country. And we spend it to promote people who have the courage, integrity and good ideas to get this country back on track.”⁷⁵⁶ In the lead-up to the Senate race, which corresponded with the national presidential election involving incumbent President Barack Obama, American Crossroads ran an ad against Sen. Nelson that highlighted the negative consequences to Floridian seniors from Nelson’s endorsement of Obamacare. “Keeping with the links to the top-of-the-ticket that dominated the [presidential] race, the ads accused Nelson of being a toady for Obama, deriding them as “lockstep liberals.”⁷⁵⁷



Figure 40. Senate 2012 election campaign against incumbent Florida Sen. Bill Nelson, from USAtoday30.USAtoday.com.

The narrator repeatedly suggests to those concerned with health care that Senator Nelson will restrict individuals’ opportunities to access health care and choose their own doctor. This should trigger psychological reactance against those responsible. The ad helpfully provides the solution to the riled-up viewer; vote against Sen. Nelson to protect your “owed” rights and retain your freedoms.

⁷⁵⁶ American Crossroads, “About – Who We Are,” <http://www.americancrossroads.org/about/>.

⁷⁵⁷ John Kennedy, “U.S. Senate Race: Bill Nelson Easily Reelected Over Rep. Connie Mack IV,” *Palm Beach Post*, <http://www.palmbeachpost.com/news/news/state-regional-govt-politics/fla-us-senate-race-bill-nelson-easily-reelected-ov/nSyyY/>.

⁷⁵⁸ USA Today, “American Crossroads: Where (Fla.),” <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/politics/political-ad-tracker/video/847482/american-crossroads-where-fla>.

e. *Political: Pro-Climate Change Ad, 2009.*

The climate change debate has become a polarizing issue worldwide. It has set believers against skeptics and the developed world against the underdeveloped. OXFAM International is a liberal-leaning aid coalition that works in the poorer regions of the world where populations will likely be severely impacted by drastic changes in the global weather, with severe droughts or flooding looming most prominent.

In this ad, aired prior to the 2009 Climate Change Talks in Copenhagen, OXFAM uses the repetitive “ticking clock” sound and image of time running out to persuade the viewer to notify his government representative to vote in favor of protective measures at the conference.



Figure 41. OXFAM TV 2009 TV commercial urging the public to pressure elected officials that would be attending the Climate Change Talks, from YouTube.

The commercial begins with people moving their arms to the click of a ticking clock. Each tick is followed by a flashed image of a “natural” disaster: a Tsunami, fire, flood, hurricane, and arctic melt. “Every second, every minute, every day, our world is changing [for the worse].” The cumulative effect is to project a sense of urgency, with the implication that time and opportunity are both scarce. The tempo of “ticks” speeds up as the commercial comes to a close. The viewer must act now before it is too late; the window of opportunity is closing fast.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁹ YouTube, “Tck Tck Tck - Oxfam Climate Change Campaign,” uploaded 2 September 2009, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GKYaCvK-tio>.

G. CHAPTER DISCUSSION

At least some of the characteristics that define the six principles of influence were routinely found across a wide sampling of influence techniques over time. However, there is insufficient proof to claim that any one specific influence technique was necessary or sufficient to persuade people to change their behavior.

My selection of vignettes was opportunistic, although deliberately structured to secure examples of each principle drawing from several broad-coverage categories: time (Ancient to Medieval, Renaissance to Modern, and the Information Age); religious foundations (Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam); American commercial appeals (via still and in-motion images); and American political campaigns. At a minimum, there may be anecdotal value in noting the trends associated with each principle.

1. Reciprocity

Throughout the ages, influencers have sought to leverage the burden of past obligation. They emphasized the previous noble and ignoble deeds by certain people and organizations in order to trigger feelings of retribution-recompense in the present. Because these acts, by definition, exist in the past, it is impossible for the current audience to truly repay them. Consequently, invoking them can secure attempts to alleviate the feelings of obligation. (e.g., the examples of Bosnia's civil war and McCain's "prisoner of war" presidential campaign ad).

The world's largest religions all instruct that positive reciprocity is a holy obligation (see Christianity's "Golden Rule"). Whether done intentionally or not, by making reciprocal obligation sacrosanct, all four top religions have set the conditions for creating and leveraging "unpayable" debt in exchange for receiving godly salvation.

In TV commercials and political appeals one also sees a fondness for projecting "uninvited" debt. The narrator often speaks "on behalf of" the public; he boldly and emotionally invokes "our" collective indebtedness to a cause, group, or individual. The viewer is then left with this surrogate debt, which "nags" at the individual for absolution (see Jeep's "Whole Again" commercial).

2. Commitment and Consistency

Across all ages, influencers seem to have recognized that people both crave and fear the opinion of social groups they value. Extracting initial effortful commitments in front of esteemed others thus appears to contribute to the pressure to remain consistent in future circumstances (e.g., various countries' global statements of support for the U.S. after 9/11). The base religious texts all instruct, as a core tenet, that one's words and deeds should align. This obligation becomes particularly important for empowering public rituals of commitment to secure lasting compliance (e.g., colonial evangelists pro-war sermons during the French/Indian War).

In every age, we also see consistent examples of persuaders using a succession of small "non-threatening" commitments to make exiting a relationship too costly. The individual has a hard time adding up the costs of each seemingly insignificant "baby step" cost in isolation from the previous and the proximate (e.g., Alexander the Great in Egypt). At some point, when the individual finally reflects that he has "voluntarily" invested a significant amount, he feels an overwhelming psychological need to defend the correctness of his actions, which compels him to internalize the commitments and maintain his behavior (e.g., the Satere-Mawe's male rite of passage).

Repetition is one of the best ways to capitalize on an initial behavior because the individual comes to believe that the behavior's cost has already been paid in full, up front. With each subsequent repetition, the behavior becomes both more familiar and increasingly justified. After sufficient repetition, the behavior takes on the aspects of habit. One can even begin to have automatic reactions to cues suggesting similar circumstances (e.g., the Reykjavik Summit between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.).

In the commercial world, the common focus is to obtain that "first use." It appears marketers understand that the most significant hurdle to obtaining a desired consumer behavior is to get consumers to take an initial action, which exposes a chink in the armor of their "optimal" status quo (e.g., the Marine Corps' "Leap" recruitment video).

3. Social Proof

“When in Rome, do as the Romans do”⁷⁶⁰ is more than just a cliché; it speaks to the early days of human evolution when protection was found in numbers. Across space and time, people have consistently sought to decrease their odds of unacceptable failure (including loss of status) by observing and mimicking the behavior of the majority. Successful persuaders, including marketers, have consistently used this generally predictable human response to redirect behavior in ways that advance their interests (e.g., the Zhou Dynasty’s Mandate of Heaven).

Religions, which depend on gaining and maintaining members to exist, profit from the common *argumentum ad populum* logic fallacy; a large number of people doing (believing) something proves that what they are doing (believing) is “true” and/or “profitable.” This suggests an advantage for aggressive proselytizing to keep membership at a level that suggests proof of superior faith (e.g., the Moral Majority).

My survey of American commercials finds a common emphasis on projecting not just that numerous people have made a certain decision, but that the majority consists of “similar others.” Many appeals use a group of believable “average” citizens to send social proof signals. By seeing a variety, the viewing audience is more likely to find someone who is similar to themselves, further increasing the salience of the commercial’s behavioral advice (e.g., the “Dinner with Barack” political fundraising commercial).

4. Liking

Throughout the ages, influencers have compensated for charismatic shortcomings by establishing strong associations with those who have charisma. When information uncertainty is high, humans have learned that it is generally sufficient to assume that people associate with similar others. Therefore, the person who is seen in the company of a recognized and admired expert can be expected to have similar qualities (e.g., Hugo Chávez’s use of Simón Bolívar).

⁷⁶⁰ Saint Ambrose- Bishop of Milan, “Origin of sayings- When in Rome, do as the Romans do,” 387 A.D., <http://www.trivia-library.com/b/origins-of-sayings-when-in-rome-do-as-the-romans-do.htm>.

Religious texts examined all recognize the advantages of tailoring appeals to the target audience. People like to root for their home team, in this case, the “similar others” persuader. This is because that persuader’s status and success becomes a reflection of the listener’s status *cum* success potential (see anecdotes on Jesus’ proselytizing).

Most commercial and political appeals surveyed utilize emotional priming to prejudice a positive or negative affect for subsequent images and information. Because priming works independently, its emotionally laden symbols can be used for wholly unconnected concepts (e.g., Mitt Romney’s “Where Did the Stimulus Money Go?” political ad).

5. Authority

Throughout the ages, people have learned that there is significant benefit to following the lead of subject matter experts. Each culture has come to recognize and accept certain symbols (titles, uniforms, and trappings) as proof of these experts’ authority (e.g., Egyptian crowns). The religions I surveyed all indoctrinate their believers to respect their elders who, not coincidentally, generally form the group’s core leadership. They also establish unique symbolic criteria for signaling “rightful” religious authority. This has the effect of ensuring challenges to authority remain beyond the access of the masses (e.g., Jesus’s miracles or the Prophet’s bloodline in Islam).

Commercials and ads typically demonstrate that an expert in one field is popularly respected as an expert in most other fields (e.g., Tony Robbins motivational seminar infomercial). Political campaign ads use popular personalities to vouch for their candidate’s political expertise and against that of their opponent’s, despite their questionable credentials as experts on governance (e.g., the Democratic National Convention’s use of retired generals).

6. Scarcity

History consistently demonstrates that persuaders use scarcity of time to induce compliance. Across time and space leaders have heralded the imminent loss of options as a justification for conducting preventative use of force (e.g., Sparta in the Peloponnesian

War and the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq to prevent an “imminent” nuclear threat). Threats like “If you don’t do ‘x,’ then we will do ‘y,’ (future coercion) have long been used to create a sense of urgency to comply (e.g., Mongols’ amnesty). Religions combine “time is limited” (if you die before you have fulfilled a certain commitment, you will not be eligible for the reward) with the rarity of the hoped-for end-state to motivate long-term adherence (e.g., Islamic and Christian “heavens”).

When surveying American ads and commercials one also sees a consistent use of time and quantity resource limits to stimulate consumer behavior (e.g., product and service offerings on QVC). An equally consistently effective appeal is based on suggested impacts to behavioral freedoms (e.g., cell phone service plan ads). However, it is likely that advertising threats to personal freedoms is probably more effective in individualist societies like the U.S. than in communitarian ones like Japan.

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VII. CONCLUSION

A. COMPLIANCE CONDITIONS

I began this thesis with a review of the psychology, propaganda, and marketing literatures to identify the conditions that each discipline claims most affect a person's processing of persuasive requests. There are significant cognitive, perceptive, and emotional conditions that affect the individual's ability and willingness to attend to a message, his processing of its significance, and how he resolves his concern.

1. Psychology

Most of the reviewed psychology literature supports three broad determinants of compliance success. The first determinant is the individual's level of cognitive effort. The more attentive and motivated the individual becomes, the more likely he is to engage in systematic analysis of the request. But, the more routine the information, the more likely the individual will be to rely on generally predictable behavior responses called heuristics. The second determinant is the individual's use of environmental feedback. As social beings individuals' decisions are driven by the acculturated needs to be liked by others and to make "correct" decisions. Cognitive processing is effortful and finite; as such, individuals learn to trust certain environmental signals to autonomously trigger certain behavioral responses. The third significant determinant affecting compliance is judgmental and perceptual bias. The brain's cognitive processes are prone to built-in errors that alter the salience and recall of information and affect individuals' intuition.

2. Propaganda

The preponderance of the propaganda literature reviewed supports three essential and sequential conditions for constructing effective persuasive appeals. The first necessary condition is to gain the target's attention. *How* attention is gained is as impactful as gaining attention. A target's mood significantly prejudices his subsequent information processing, including perceptions about the credibility of the message sender and the message content. The second necessary step is to lead the individual to believe

his status quo is no longer correct or sufficient. Implying that an individual has lost or is in danger of losing status is one of the strongest motivators to get him to change. The third necessary condition for constructing effective persuasive appeals is to provide a solution to his distress. The individual wants to re-establish a state of equilibrium (and reduce his anxiety). Appeals that leverage aspects of the individual's existing predilections tend to be more effective and enduring.

3. Marketing

The marketing literature similarly supports propaganda's conclusions on essential conditions for persuasive appeals, but adds three other tenets that can significantly affect the success of persuasion efforts. The first tenet is frame manipulation. Framing influences the way the individual "views" the problem and its context, and generally predicts how he might solve the problem. The second tenet is symbol cooptation. Symbols have transitive properties that can provide an associated object, person, or idea with some of the symbol's status. Employing familiar and powerful symbols can enable the persuader to bypass sources of "natural" resistance to incredible appeals and sources. The third tenet, managing stimulation, acknowledges that it is not enough to gain attention; attention must be maintained long enough for the compliance appeal to be considered and processed. Incorporating entertainment value into the appeal creates an independent incentive for maintaining attention.

B. PSYCHO-SOCIAL PRINCIPLES' SUFFICIENCY

My thesis next reviewed the psychology, propaganda, and marketing literatures to determine the psycho-social principles that most affect a person's tendency to comply with an explicit or implicit behavior request. Prominent psychologist Dr. Robert Cialdini argues that most successful persuasion techniques stem from just six governing psycho-social principles: reciprocity, commitment and consistency, social proof, authority, liking, and scarcity. I utilized these six principles to organize the broader findings from my research to identify sufficiency and critical gaps. My findings support the sufficiency of Cialdini's six principles *if* several adjustments are made to his existing definitions.

1. Reciprocity

For this principle, it is worthwhile to include those aspects of perception that affect how the individual determines the “size” and salience of received favors because this largely determines the size, significance, and urgency of his reciprocating response. The psychology literature notes that there is a strong social desire to repay acts of interpersonal trust with similar exchanges of interpersonal trust. The marketing literature notes that intimate “genuine” gestures evoke equally, and sometimes larger, intimate repayments and stimulate relationship formation. The propaganda literature offers that if indebtedness can be made to feel intrinsically gratifying, as is common when it involves higher order symbolic concepts such as nobility, fealty, and honor, the repayment behavior can become self-perpetuating.

The key addition to *Reciprocity* is that certain reciprocal exchanges lead not only to repayment, but also relationship formation, which provides an additional set of compliance pressures that can be leveraged.

2. Commitment and Consistency

Under this principle, I do not think sufficient attention has been paid to a person’s “natural” resistance to change. To change is to acknowledge that one’s current beliefs and past actions may have been wrong. Therefore, the case for change must strike a delicate balance between generating enough dissatisfaction with the status quo, but not so much as to cause the individual to cognitively shut down. The marketing literature suggests that a consumer’s social-based guilt is one of these bracketed barriers to change. Even if a person pays attention, accepts the persuasive appeal, and is willing to act, social guilt can still override the willingness to change.

The psychology literature offers a mechanism to help mitigate defensive coping. It would be worthwhile to incorporate influence efforts that increase an individual’s feelings of ownership of the “advertised” potential. The Endowment Effect predicts that once a person takes ownership of something (an object, idea, benefit, etc.) he will assign a greater value to retaining it. This would intrinsically motivate the individual to accept

the proposed change as his “new” status quo, and increase his receptivity to suggestions for how to turn potential into reality.

The propaganda literature suggests another potentially powerful way to decrease the individual’s satisfaction with his status quo, via trigger and bias introspection. Priming an individual’s mood with emotional and symbol-laden words or images can increase his aversion to dissonance between his identity and options for behavior. Somewhat similarly, the marketing literature values dissonance, but as a way to drive interest in and increase attention to a message. Marketers intentionally create slight inconsistencies in a persuasive appeal to trigger just enough dissonance to alert the audience to pay attention. The extra interest and cognitive processing elicited increases the amount of time people are exposed to the influence effort, which theoretically increases their chances of succumbing to its compliance instructions.

3. Social Proof

It would strengthen this principle if minority representation were used to symbolically represent a sufficient “majority” to elicit imitation based on *Social Proof*. This aspect is distinct from an individual’s endogenous influence over others as an authority figure. The propaganda literature notes the powerful influence of instigators (in the revolutionary literature these instigators are the “vanguards”) to signal *Social Proof* to uncertain individuals who are looking for behavior clues. Likewise, the psychology literature reveals that minority opinions (and behaviors) at certain times have a disproportionate influence over the majority’s decisions about how to behave.

A second source of influence, whose incorporation would strengthen the six principles, is the power of message and source-variety volume to compensate for the low credibility of any single message. As the marketing literature notes, as the number of independent sources corroborating a claim (opinion, behavior, etc.) increases, the appearance of a growing majority consensus, message veracity, and pressure to conform pull people in their direction.

Another prominent source of influence whose inclusion would strengthen the sufficiency of the *Social Proof* principle is imminentism. The propaganda literature, in particular, strongly argues that manipulating conceptions about the future can create

behavioral compliance in the present. By credibly signaling that an outcome, which can be imagined to involve many others is imminent, the individuals can be induced to believe that the majority will behave in a certain way in the near future. In order to not miss out on this “correct” behavior, the individual must act quickly in the present (think *Scarcity* principle). This leverages the majority’s undisprovable future behavior as a social proof to guide individuals’ present-day behavior.

4. Liking

It would be worthwhile to expand *Liking* beyond just positive and negative affect to incorporate a broader understanding of how persuaders can prime a range of moods to bias subsequent perceptions and decision-making. Another suggestion from the psychology literature for improving the liking principle’s coverage would be to accommodate the distinction between modeling and mimicking. Mimicry is replicating behavior without introspection about its implication for one’s identity. Modeling includes a more discerning adoption of behaviors after a deliberation process. This active engagement and introspection should trigger processes of identification and internalization, resulting in more enduring changes in behavior.

5. Authority

This principle’s definition could benefit from a greater recognition that the institutions from which information comes can sometimes signal stronger credible expertise than the personal attributes of its spokespersons. In particular, the propaganda literature provides numerous examples of an organization’s reputation achieving unquestioned message acceptance. In the 20th century, prominent newspapers were assumed infallible. Similarly, two decades ago, TV news channels such as CNN enjoyed a world-wide reputation for authoritative reporting.

6. Scarcity

There are significant yet unaccounted for opportunities to influence even when persuaders are rejected. According to business relationship management literature, people subconsciously recognize that everyone, even those they choose to reject, still represent

options for the future. As such, an individual closely monitors how the persuader reacts to rejection, as a predictor of his potential value in as yet unknown future decision-making scenarios. By deliberately implying the increased future value of an exchange relationship and creating positive affect during the disengagement, the persuader can increase the likelihood that the individual will (re)consider his future persuasive appeals.

C. SUSTAINING INFLUENCE

The review of the psychology, propaganda, and marketing literatures support my initial hypothesis: social influence efforts that utilize cumulative, small-scale behavioral acts of compliance can generate self-sustaining aggregate behaviors that promote longer term compliance and changes in belief.

1. Psychology

The psychology literature suggests that larger complex behaviors can be changed by targeting their sub-component behaviors. Because the “smaller” behaviors seem less significant, it reduces the individual’s resistance to comply. Eventually, the incremental changes at the sub-component level change the foundations of the original larger behavior, making it more susceptible to influence efforts. Similarly, according to Behaviorism using differential reinforcement is effective in reinforcing small sequential behavioral efforts that will move the individual in the direction of the ultimately desired behavior. In this way, the individual measures the amount of his petitioned compliance against the change from his last small behavior compliance, and not against the delta from his initial starting position.

Perhaps the most prevalent and easiest small-scale act of compliance to secure is the repetition of a behavior. Psychologically-speaking, the individual knows he has already executed the behavior before. A second, third, or fourth repeat should thus seem less demanding, less significant, and therefore less threatening. However, in the aggregate, each repetition increases the weight of the consistency principle and strengthens the cognitive pathway that links the issue with a particular behavioral resolution. This increases the likelihood of future compliance, which then reinforces the pressure to remain consistent the next time; so on, and so on.

2. Propaganda

The propaganda literature suggests that one of the most effective approaches to gaining behavioral compliance is to coopt and then incrementally adjust a group's valued symbols, beliefs, and behavior patterns toward a desired behavioral end-state. The existing symbols are familiar and valuable to the group; they form part of the identity or foundation for its members. By incrementally changing the symbols, the group member is faced with accepting the seemingly inconsequential adjustments or rejecting them in toto, which will almost certainly damage his status architecture. So constrained, the individual is less able to detach himself to gauge the significance of the aggregate change.

As Cialdini notes in *Influence*, "commitments are most effective when they are active, public, effortful, and viewed as internally motivated."⁷⁶¹ These aspects also apply to increasing the effectiveness of obtained behavior repetition. The propaganda literature notes that repetition of a theme is more effective than rote repetition. Rote repetition appears to more easily allow the individual to explain away his reason for compliance as externally induced; boredom also tends to stimulate effortful message rejection.

3. Marketing

In the marketing literature, repetition is used to generate comfort through familiarity. When information is incomplete and uncertainty is high, choosing the familiar option represents a safe default because it eliminates the anxiety of trying something new that could result in costly failure. Over time and with continued small acts of exchange behavior, a relationship based on credibility and trust forms between the consumer and the brand. The reciprocal exchange of trust eventually evolves into feelings of loyalty and obligations to exclusivity. Loyalty-based relationships provide the individual with intrinsically generated rewards, which results in self-sustaining behavior patterns. The relationship also becomes more efficient for the persuader as he no longer has to input resources, or engaged in quid pro quos, to obtain an output.

⁷⁶¹ Cialdini, *Influence*, 95.

One of the hallmarks of building product or brand loyalty is to increase the costs for exiting the exchange relationship. However, if the full costs for defecting are advertised up front, the psychological reactance theory predicts that most people would choose to reject the notion of a costly and constraining relationship. By persuading the potential customer to make successive, but small-scale behavioral investments, each investment seems inconsequential unto itself. Over time, the customer is faced with an aggregate of expenditures that is significant and biases him to continue his patronage to avoid a sense of “sunk” costs.

D. PROMINENT TENSIONS

I have identified three prominent categories of tension that seem to most negatively affect a person’s likelihood of complying with an explicit or implicit behavior request: psychological, ethical, and practical.

1. Psychological

The psychology, propaganda, and marketing literatures suggest that the most problematic hurdle to securing compliance is an individual’s awareness of and motivated resistance to persuasive appeals. As a coping mechanism, undesirable psychological reactance can become a “show stopper,” as the target summarily rejects the credibility of the message and its source, and feels compelled to actively counter the influence attempt. Similarly, over-stimulating the individual with anxiety can cause him to shut down or to perceive change as hopeless.

Systematic processing comes with opportunities and costs. Many of the strongest facets of the six governing psycho-social principles depend on the generally predictable reactions of the individual, which are embodied by learned heuristics. Systematic processing employs more deliberate and controlled analysis resulting in more situation-specific responses, which are significantly less predictable. However, a blend of systematic and heuristic processing can lead to more enduring behavior changes as systematic processing results in greater identification with and internalization of the implications of the behavior.

2. Ethical

The factors of persuasion-source reputation and assessment of betrayal most affect the individual's subsequent reception and processing of persuasive appeals. Message and sender credibility are supremely important to influence efforts. The ethics literature agrees that it is beneficial to understand how a target culture perceives a persuader's actions, as either ethical or unethical. This is because presenting and maintaining a positive ethical reputation is not merely a philosophical luxury, but a practical factor in gaining and sustaining the necessary positive credibility for persuasive claims.

Betrayal is a strong emotion that can destroy the credibility of the persuader and his institution, organizations, or brand's credibility for an indefinite period. If a target audience believes that it has been taken advantage of or that the persuader overstepped his responsibility to keep his manipulation below a certain level, the audience can begin to feel betrayed. This will often lead to active and effortful opposition to the persuader's presence and broader interests.

At the same time, moral prohibitions from one's origin can prevent the application of some of the most effective and efficient forms of persuasion in other countries. The trade-off can be viewed as potential short-term compliance gains, but at the expense of long-term loss of organizational credibility and authorization to act.

3. Practical

Within the realm of practical tensions, cultural differences and message competition seem to markedly impact whether the persuasive appeal is received and processed as intended. At this time, there is insufficient evidence to claim that Cialdini's six principles encapsulate all the most effective influence techniques for every culture. However, there is sufficient anecdotal evidence to argue that all six principles operate in all major cultures, but that distinct cultures have developed their own "unique" heuristic triggering cues. Major cultural characteristics such as context sensitivity and degree of

individualism are additional filters that seem to moderate the strength and impact of influence principles.

An individual's day is filled with an overwhelming number of competing requests for decisions. Because humans have finite information processing capacity, persuaders and their messages must compete to be attended to and considered for action. Too much competition for his attention on a specific issue typically will motivate the individual to more systematically examine competing appeals to check for hidden value. Similar competing appeals encourage the individual to assign merit based on second order appeal arguments.

E. INSIGHTS FROM THE VIGNETTES

A brief look across time and cultures (or space) has demonstrated that at least some of the characteristics that define the six principles of influence are widespread. It is a much broader leap to ascribe their presence to a single source. In most every case examined, more than one principle was present. In ancient and more recent epochs, authority seems to have been the principle leveraged most prevalently. This makes sense when considering that might has made right throughout most of human history.

However, as mass communication technologies began to improve and commercial competition forced product makers to compete for consumers (a finite resource), more status-bearing principles gained in prominence. Modern commercial persuasion efforts purposely incorporate as many of the six principles as is practical. As the marketing literature suggests, major corporations have to be successful or they would not survive; small wonder they have become the *de facto* experts on securing behavior through non-coercive persuasive appeals. Not only does the integration of additional influence principles increase the effectiveness of the appeal by aggregate strength or by increasing the probability that at least one technique will produce a signal that triggers salience in the many distinct individuals receiving the message, but persuasion experts seem to have concluded "the more, the merrier;."

Overall, the range of examples presented here suggests that the six influence principles have been incorporated into influence efforts around the world, even before the

advent of mass media and commercial consumerism. This suggests that the principles' core characteristics must effectively address some broadly shared human traits that transcend cultural differences. However, worth noting is that differences in cultural beliefs and values *do* moderate the uses that can be made of each of the principles and the effectiveness of the persuasive techniques that employ them.

F. IMPLICATIONS

Over the last decade, the experiences of the United States have made it clear that it is increasingly difficult and costly to meet our needs through our current methods of influence: by massing men, weapons, and economic resources. From my perspective and given my experience, our nation has too long relied on wielding the wrong sticks (implied coercion) and the wrong carrots, promising material incentives for changed behaviors without regard for the behavior's role in identity or its psychological underpinnings. My research suggests that the key to successful and more resource-efficient influence efforts lies in a better understanding, identification, and targeting of the psycho-social principles that drive heuristic decision-making across all human societies. This becomes especially important when we realize that most day-to-day decision-making is made relatively autonomously, triggered by cues that can be identified and replicated in other contexts with similar results.

Culture *does* play an important role in modifying the efficacy of the persuasive techniques that leverage the six principles. This suggests that one area to prioritize for improvement is to build profiles of and for the psycho-social principles of influence within the target culture. By surveying the target culture's existing common persuasive techniques, the surveyor would be able to map the effectiveness hierarchy of the six principles of influence and begin to identify the most salient triggering cues. The psycho-social profile would help guide the content and delivery for a wide range of information-related operations, in particular, those armed to gain a foreign audience's attention, boost motivation levels, and achieve behavioral change. The profile would also enable organizations to squeeze more influential bang for any "buck" spent in pursuing "hearts and minds" among foreign audiences. If message and source credibility are paramount, as

research suggests they are, an understanding of the specific heuristic cues that signal credibility in whatever culture we are working in will help to improve our ability to influence.

At all levels, tactical, operational, and strategic, face-to-face communications are critical to influencing those who influence the majority of the target population. A focus on social elites seems to be the most economical use of resources to affect the greatest number of people. Another underutilized tool is mood-priming and psychological framing; this can significantly prejudice the target's perceptions and judgments in directions favorable to achieving specific outcomes. In other words, it may indeed be that it is not *what* one says, but how one says it that more effectively persuades.

Finally, I would advise, based on strong support in the literature, that influence efforts focus on reinforcing existing behaviors rather than attempting to instill entirely new ones. By identifying and reinforcing useful existing sub-component behaviors, the persuader can eventually destabilize the larger behavior. Once the behavior is destabilized, the individual will more easily "admit" that his status quo is imperfect. The individual then becomes susceptible to appeals for change and suggestions for "better" solutions about how to (re)establish a more desirable status quo. And, in the end, the goal of influence strategy is to encourage others to move toward "better solutions" without first having to employ more coercive, thus threatening, means. In a conflict-riddled world, influence strategies almost certainly offer up "better solutions."

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